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Title:
The Spanish Tudors

Fashioning the Anglo-Spanish Elite through Dress, c.1553-1603, and beyond

[REDACTED VERSION]

THE SPANISH TUDORS: FASHIONING THE ANGLO-SPANISH ELITE THROUGH DRESS, C.1554-1603, AND BEYOND.

by

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Abstract

Spain loomed large in the hearts, minds and wardrobes of England's elite classes during the sixteenth century. It represented both a cultural model of worldliness and wealth, emulated and envied by its European neighbours, and a global leader in sartorial sophistication; its fashions bought and worn by Englishmen and women, even during times of Anglo-Spanish conflict. This thesis examines the dissemination, consumption and reception of luxury Spanish fashions, textiles and household furnishings amongst the English elite classes during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, c.1554-1603. It uncovers the role played by Spanish garb in the self-fashioning agendas of the English aristocracy and nobility – most notably Mary and Elizabeth, members of the so-called 'Spanish Faction' and select elite families – which has been overlooked in previous scholarship on Anglo-Spanish diplomatic affairs and material exchanges.

This thesis marries archival and object-focussed research, as based on a close-hand analysis of a range of manuscript and printed primary sources, portraiture and objects, to: examine the making of the 'Spanish Model' of fashion; investigate the Spanish textile and fashion diaspora in Tudor England, as analysed through the lens of the lucrative leather and wool trade; and, consider the politicised dress habits of Mary and Elizabeth, whose inventories and warrants are scrutinised to reveal a larger quantity of Spanish garb in their wardrobes than previously acknowledged. It also analyses the twin phenomenon of Hispanophilia and 'pseudo-Hispanophilia' – defined here as a disingenuous love of Spain, exhibited by the individual for personal and political gain – amongst the English nobility and members of the political 'Spanish Faction' who displayed ostensibly pro-Spanish sentiments and wore Spanish fashions. Finally, it examines how the circulation of anti-Spanish pamphlets and plays contributed towards the ultimate demise of Spanish fashions in England in the 1580s as diplomatic relations soured and widespread Hispanophobia increased. This thesis thus offers an original contribution to art and social historical studies of Anglo-Spanish relations, as well as the material culture of Spanish fashions more broadly, by using English dress habits to analyse elite attitudes to Spain, first as England's ally, and later as its political and religious rival.

Acknowledgements and Dedication

This thesis has taken me on a journey from Habsburg Spain to Tudor England; it has allowed me to rummage through the wardrobes of two of Britain's most iconic queens, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I; and to handle the most intimate and personal of garments that once belonged to England's elite classes. I have read private correspondences, traced changes in personal fortunes in household accounts, and stared sixteenth-century nobles in the eye through their portraits and miniatures. In the process, I have also tried my hand at ruff-making and pattern-cutting, and I have learnt historic embroidery techniques.

One of the rewarding aspects of carrying out doctoral research is the professional and personal relationships fostered along the way. I must thank my supervisors, Dr Alex Hoare (University of Bristol) and Professor Maria Hayward (University of Southampton) for their generosity, kind guidance and expertise in early modern dress, textiles and identity. Thank you for pushing me to be a better scholar and challenging me to sharpen my critical thinking and writing skills. I feel very lucky to have had you both as mentors. To friends, old and new, who have supported me along the way; thank you for providing laughter, kindness, and much needed moral support throughout the research process. And most importantly to family members – my parents Kathryn and Steve, brother Thomas and sister-in-law Felicity, and partner, Peter – thank you for your unwavering faith, patience and encouragement. I love you all very much. With thanks also to extended family members, in particular Helen and Christopher Scopes, whose kind invitation to the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers and unrivalled knowledge of the leather trade proved both fascinating and useful for my own research into Spanish leather.

I must extend my gratitude to the Arts and Humanities Research Council's South West Wales Doctoral Training Programme, without whose financial aid this project would not have been feasible. In doing so, I also give thanks to the team behind the SWW DTP: Chantelle Payne, Rose Jones and Brendan Smith. To the Textile Society, who awarded me the 2016 Critical Writing Award, a grant, and the opportunity to publish an article in the society's journal *TEXT*: thank you for providing me with a platform to present the early fruits of my work. Grants from Bristol Graduate School of Arts and Humanities, the Bristol Doctoral College, the Bristol Institute of Research in the Humanities and Arts and the Association of Art Historians have all been gratefully received. With thanks also to archivists and curators at the Bristol Record Office, Fashion Museum, Institute of Historical Research and Holburne Museum for their assistance and support; and to conference convenors of the CHORD research group (University of Wolverhampton), the Association of Art Historians, the Institute of Historical Research and Victoria and Albert Museum and the University of Bristol for giving me the opportunity to present portions of this thesis for feedback at various stages.

I dedicate this thesis to my family.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED:…….. DATE:……

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Abbreviations and Conventions

All titles of referenced material are cited in full in the first instance in each chapter, and are thereafter abbreviated, except for those included in the table of abbreviations below:

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AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
BL	British Library
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
BRO	Bristol Record Office
C	*Chancery*
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers*
E	*Exchequer*
E 101	*King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various*
HCA	*High Court of Admiralty*
IHR	Institute of Historical Research, Senate House
LC	*Lord Chamberlain's Department*
NAL	National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum
OSUNA	*Archivo de los Duques de Osuna*
Req	*Proceedings in the Court of Requests*
SN	Sección Nobleza
SP	*State Papers*
TNA	The National Archives, London (formerly PRO, the Public Record Office)
WSHC	Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre
XR	*Microfilm*

All transcriptions, unless otherwise stated, have been carried out by the author. Superscripts have been lowered and original spellings have been retained. A modern alphabet has been used to aid legibility (e.g. long 's' has been changed to short 's', etc.) and square brackets used to indicate the author's own insertions. The calendar year is taken to start on 1 January. Where legible, prices have been given for individual entries in transcribed inventories.

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Figure 167: Anonymous artist, *The Dairy Cow*, Dutch, c.1585, oil on panel, 52x67cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. [Inscription: Not longe time since I sawe a cowe / Did Flaunders represente / Upon whose backe King Philup rode / As being malecontnt. / The Queene of England giving hay / Wheareon the cow did feede, / As one that was her greatest helpe / In her distresse and neede. / The Prince of Orange milkt the cowe / And made his purse the payle. / The cow did shyt in Monsieur's hand / While he did hold her tayle]

Figure 168: Anonymous artist, *Queen Elizabeth I Feeds the Dutch Cow*, oil on panel, 39.4×49.5cm, private collection.

Figure 169: Cornelis Danckerts I, *Popish Plots and Treasons/ Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercie*, English, 1625, etching and letterpress, 56.7x54cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 170: Anonymous artist, *A Pageant of Spanish Humours*, Dutch, 1599, engraving, measurements unknown, Germanisches Nationalmuseums, Nuremberg.[21]

Figure 171: Samuel Ward (after), *The Double Deliverance 1588 1605*, Dutch, 1621, engraving, 40.6x51.7cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 172: Theodore de Bry, 'Massacre of Indians' from *America* (1594), 16x19.6cm, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Figure 173: Theodore de Bry, 'Spaniard feeding an Indian to a dog' from *America* (1594), 16x19.6cm, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Figure 174: Richard Gaywood, frontispiece to Bartolome de las Casas' *The Tears of the Indians: Being a True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters... Committed by the Spaniards..*, British, 1656, etching, 15.7x11.1cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 175: Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, British, c.1622-25, engraving, 8.7x12.7cm, British Museum, London. [Inscription: the Fatte Bishop / the Black Knight / the White King / 'Keep ye distance' / 'A letter from his Holyness' / 'Check mate by discouery']

Figure 176: Thomas Scott, frontispiece for *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, British, 1634, engraving, measurements unknown, British Museum, London. [Inscription: The second Part of Vox Popvli. Or Gondomar appearing in the likeness of Matchiauell in a Spanish

[21] *Vide supra* (fn.1)

Parliament wherein are discouered his treacherous & subtile practises / To the ruine as well as England, as the Netherlandes, / Faithfully Translated out of the Spanish Coppie by a well-wisher to England and Holland / Gentis His[amae decus][22]

Figure 177: Crispijn de Passe the younger, *Den Coninckklijcken Morgen-Wecker (The Royal Morning Alarm)*, Dutch, 1636, engraving, 21.3x26.5cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 178 : Anonymous artist, *Le Cuisinier D'Edein, Qui à empoisonné le Diable*, French, 1650, engraving, 30.3x39.3cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 179: Anonymous artist, *Le Seignor Descarabonbardo*, French, 1650, engraving, 27.3x18.9cm, British Museum, London. [Inscription: Pour me desennuyer, ie mets sur ma guiterre / Des airs de la facon, si charmans et si beaux / Quils enchantment le Dieu quie porte le tonnerre / Et c'et Imperieux qui regne sur les caux / Mars feait que ie l'endors auec mon harmonie / Que mon espee est longue, et quelle attaint pat tout / Aussi rend il homage a sa gloire infinite / Et prend Plaisir a voir quelle na point de bout]

Figure 180: Juan de la Corte, *Fiesta in the Plaza Mayor*, c.1623, oil on canvas, 158x285cm, Museo de Historia, Madrid.

Figure 181 a-b: Andrew Bretschneider, Don Quixote's Procession from *Cartel, Auffzuge, Vers and Abrisse* (1614), Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Dresden.

Figure 182: Anonymous artist, *The Family Compact*, British, 1779, etching, 19.2x22.9cm, British Museum. London.

Figure 183: Isaac Cruikshank, *The British tar's laughing-stock, or the royal Quixote*, British, 1790, handcoloured etching, 42.5x26.9cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 184: Anonymous artist, *Anonymous Woman Wearing Spanish Dress*, Dutch, c.1580s. oil on panel, 36.8x27.9cm, Holburne Museum, Bath.

[22] *Vide supra* (fn.1)

Anglo-Spanish Chronology

The following Chronology comprises a list of key dates and events commonly referenced in this thesis.

1553: Mary Tudor is crowned Queen of England; marriage negotiations begin for a Tudor-Habsburg union between Mary and Philip I, Prince of Austria; Sir Thomas Wyatt begins plotting a rebellion against the Anglo-Spanish marriage; Elizabeth is incarcerated in the Tower of London for her suspected complicity in the Wyatt Rebellion

1554: Mary agrees terms of marriage; outbreak, and dissolution of the Wyatt Rebellion; Lady Grey is executed; Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley partake in disputation at the University of Oxford; Philip arrives in Southampton and travels to Winchester Cathedral where he weds Mary; Mary experiences her first phantom pregnancy; Count of Feria becomes the Spanish Ambassador in England

1555: Philip leaves England; Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley are executed for heresy

1556: Philip is crowned King Philip II of Spain; the Franco-Spanish Treaty of Vaucelles is signed between the Houses of Valois and Habsburg; Thomas Cranmer is executed for heresy

1557: Philip visits and leaves England; he attempts to marry Elizabeth off to the Duke of Savoy; Mary experiences her second phantom pregnancy; the Anglo-French war begins

1558: The Staple at Calais is lost to France; Mary falls ill and acknowledges Elizabeth I as her heir; Mary dies and Elizabeth succeeds her as Queen of England

1559: The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity are passed; Alvaro de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, becomes the Spanish Ambassador in England

1562: Elizabeth falls ill with smallpox

1563: First embargo is placed on Anglo-Spanish overseas trade; Don Diego Guzman de Silva becomes the Spanish Ambassador in England

1567: Duke of Alba's troops are deployed to the Netherlands

1568: Don Guerau de Spes becomes the Spanish Ambassador in England; Mary, Queen of Scots, relocates to England

1568-73: Second embargo is placed on Anglo-Spanish overseas trade after Elizabeth seizes bullion from Spanish payships destined for Spanish troops in the Netherlands; Spain retaliates by seizing all English property in Spanish territory, and imposing the embargo.

1571: Don Guerau de Spes is expelled from England; Ridolfi Plot to assassinate Elizabeth is exposed

1574: Treaty of Bristol is signed between England and Spain, and England repays its financial debt

1576: The Spanish Fury: Spanish army sack Antwerp due to lack of payment caused by 1568 events

1577: Sir Francis Drake successfully circumnavigates the globe

1578: Don Bernardino de Mendoza becomes the Spanish Ambassador in England

1584: Don Bernardino de Mendoza is expelled from England

1585: Third embargo is placed on Anglo-Spanish overseas trade; the Throckmorton Plot to assassinate Elizabeth and place Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne, is foiled; Fall of Antwerp to Spanish troops; England and Spain enter an 'undeclared' war

1586: Babington Plot to assassinate Elizabeth is revealed to involve Mary, Queen of Scots; Mary is trialled and convicted of treason

1587: Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots

1588: Spanish Armada is defeated by the English

1589: English Counter-Armada is launched, and fails

1596: Sack of Cadiz, led by Lord Admiral Charles Howard and the Earl of Essex

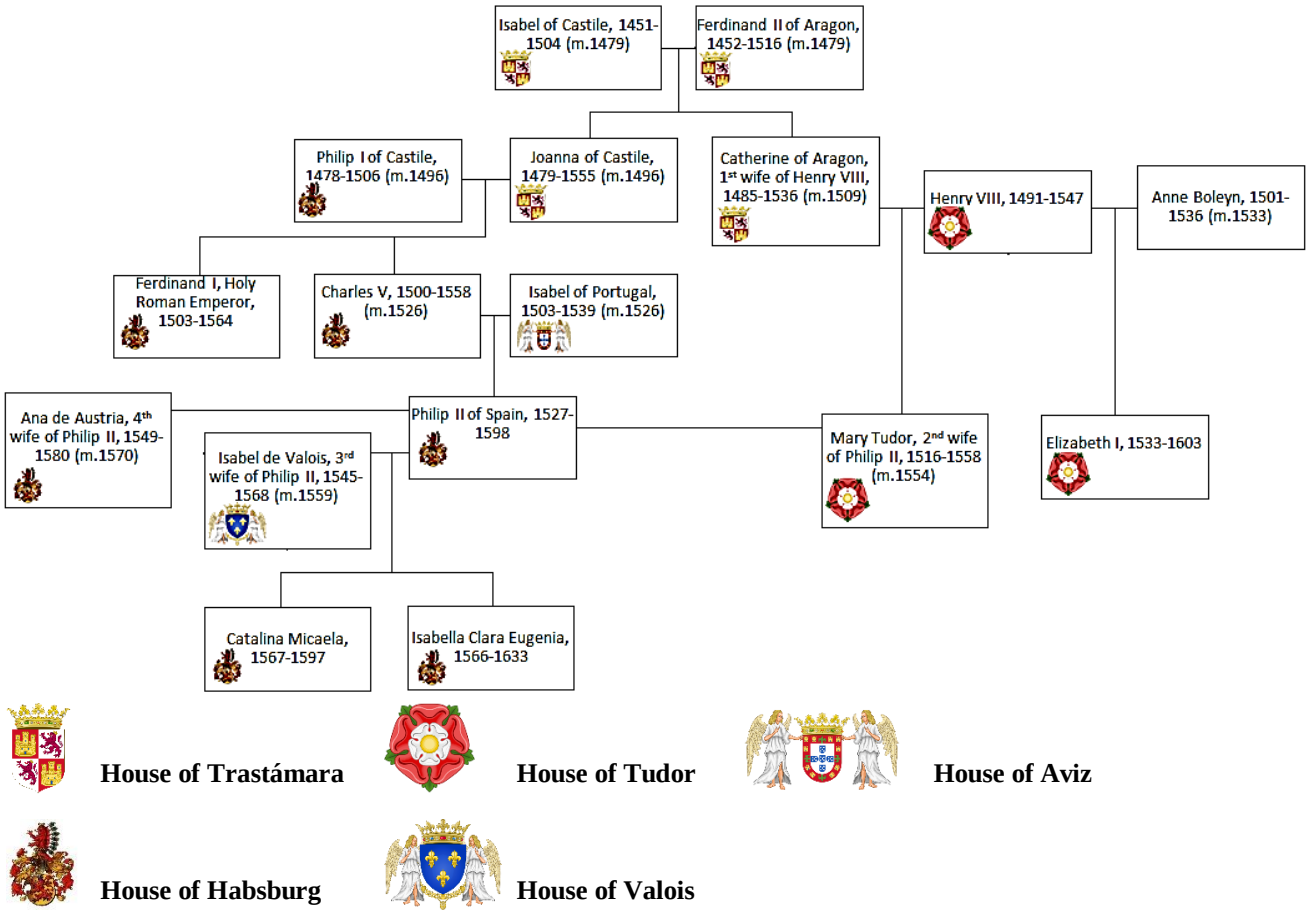
1598: Death of Philip II

1603: Death of Elizabeth I

1604: Anglo-Spanish Treaty is signed at Somerset House, London

Anglo-Spanish Genealogy

The following Anglo-Spanish genealogy features notable members of the Trastámara, Aviz, Habsburg, Tudor and Valois Houses who are frequently referenced in this thesis. This is a truncated family tree; additional members who are not listed directly below are cited in the footnote.[23]



[23] **Other children of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile:** Isabella, b.1470-d.1498; miscarried son, b.1475; John of Asturias, b.1478-d.1497; Maria, b.1482-d.1517; stillborn twin daughter to Maria, b.1482.
Other children of Philip I of Castile and Joanna of Castile: Eleanor, b.1498-d.1558; Isabella, b.1501-d.1526; Mary, b.1505-d.1558; Catherine, b.1507-d.1578.
Other children of Charles V and Isabel of Portugal: Maria, b.1528-d.1603; Ferdinand, b.1529-d.1530; Joanna, b.1535-d.1573; John, b.1537-d.1538; stillborn son, b.1539.
Other wives and children of Philip II of Spain: 1st wife: Maria Manuela, Princess of Portugal, b.1527-d.1545 (m.1543-1545), issue: Carlos of Austria, b.1545-d.1568; children with 3rd wife, Isabel de Valois: stillborn son, b.1560, miscarried twin daughters, b.1564, miscarried daughter b.1568; 4th wiFfe: Ana de Austria, b.1549-d.1580 (m. 1570-1580), issue: Ferdinand of Asturias, b.1571-d.1578, Charles Laurence, b.1573-d.1575, Diego of Asturias, b.1575-d.1582, Philip III of Spain, b.1578-d.1621, Maria, b.1580-d.1583.
Other wives and children of Henry VIII: children with 1st wife, Catherine of Aragon: stillborn daughter, b.1510, Henry, Duke of Cornwall, b.1511, son, b.1513, stillborn son, b.1515, stillborn daughter, b.1518; children with 2nd wife, Anne Boleyn: miscarried son, b.1534, miscarried son, b.1536; 3rd wife, Jane Seymour, b.1508-d.1537 (m.1536-1537), issue: Edward VI, b.1537-d.1553; 4th wife, Anne of Cleves, b.1515-1557 (m.1540); 5th wife, Catherine Howard, b.1523-d.1542 (m.1540-1541); 6th wife, Catherine Parr, b.1512-d.1548 (m.1543-1547); Elizabeth Blount, b.1498-d.1540, issue: Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, b.1519-d.1536.

INTRODUCTION

Queen Elizabeth I, the original power dresser and master of reinvention, orchestrated multiple changes to her public image during her lifetime. From Virgin Queen to Bride of England, Elizabeth is famous for her ability to manipulate clothing and portraiture to craft an image – a public identity – that could tend to her political and social needs. Her use of Spanish dress to make a political statement to her religious and diplomatic rival, Spain, remains one facet of her self-fashioning programme that has been overlooked in scholarship and one which, when probed, unveils a much larger trend for wearing Spanish fashions amongst the English elite classes than previously acknowledged. Elizabeth's nationalistic representation in William Rogers' anti-Spanish engraving, *Eliza Triumphans*, is no exception to the rule: dressed in a Spanish farthingale and flanked by the figures of Peace and Plenty, Elizabeth is depicted as the ultimate peace-maker. Measuring just 22.6x22.2cm in size, and likely intended for wide production and circulation, this small engraving packs a punch. That the queen should be depicted dressed in foreign fashions is not particularly remarkable; Elizabeth purchased a great variety of clothes during her lifetime. However, the choice of Spanish garb, in work produced a year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, is intriguing.[1] What political message did the English queen wish to project by dressing in the clothes of her vanquished rivals? What was her intended self-image? This is a Spanish wardrobe worn not solely for its desirability, but also for its ability to laud the wearer's naval victories over Spain and to communicate to the realm that Elizabeth was a protector of peace, and Spain, a harbinger of war.

Despite England's notoriously volatile relationship with Spain throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish dress frequently appears in Tudor England. It is noticeably present in the wardrobes of the English elite where the phenomenon for wearing Spanish fashions, as this thesis elucidates, was oftentimes employed to make a statement about the individual's attitude towards Spain, or to approximate oneself with the Spanish entourage at court. The act of wearing Spanish dress was, on occasion, viewed as an outward expression of Hispanophilia; it was also perceived as being fashionable and an indication of good, and

[1] See fig. 131.

worldly, taste. The belief that the individual's public identity, including their political alliances and religious leaning, could be fashioned through adopting particular attire held weight in Tudor England and 'dressing the Spanish way' had serious political, social and cultural implications for the wearer. Elizabeth was not the only English monarch to employ Spanish dress in politicised acts of self-fashioning: Mary Tudor, her lesser-studied predecessor and half-sister, wielded Spanish fashions during her brief stint as Queen of England and bride of the Spanish King, Philip II. She used Spanish dress to demonstrate to her absent husband that she too could play the role of Habsburg Queen if she so wished; she too could fashion herself an identity that was palatable to her Spanish beau. Members of the so-called 'Spanish Faction' at Mary's court, too, who received financial compensation from Philip's Spanish entourage, purchased and wore Spanish dress in purported proclamations of their love for Spain. These sartorial practices, parading so as acts of Hispanophilia, were in fact instances of pseudo-Hispanophilia – a term which I define later in this Introduction and discuss in greater depth in Chapter Four – characterised most aptly by the Earl of Pembroke who used Spanish dress to paint himself as an ally of Spain.[2] His Hispanicised dress practices in fact masked an ulterior motive to gain social leverage and status at court.

As these three examples illustrate, instances of elite Tudor Englishmen and women wearing Spanish dress should not be taken solely at face value. Spain figured prominently in the English social, political and sartorial landscape: Spanish textiles and household furnishings adorned English houses and Spanish fashions clothed English bodies, and yet, attitudes towards Spain remained conflicted. Periods of Anglo-Spanish peace and amity were bookended by bouts of rivalry, tension and outright warfare. As a consequence, the ambivalent reception of Spain (including that of her dress, customs, foodstuffs and literature) permeated the English cultural and social sphere. Ben Johnson's play, *The Alchemist*, first performed in 1610 just six years after the Anglo-Spanish Peace Treaty, was one such example of English print culture which waxed lyrical about the desirability of 'all things Spanish', yet warned of the dangers that came with 'fraternising' with England's enemy:

> Ask from your courtier to your inns-of-court-man,
> To your mere milliner; they will tell you all,

[2] NAL MSL 30/1982/30, 1561: '"An Inventorie of all the gold and sylver plate, jewells, apparell and wardrobe stuffe, with the furniture of stable, armourie and all other implements of household belonging to ... William, Earle of Pembroke" at Wilton House, Wilts, 1561'

> Your Spanish jennet is the best horse; your Spanish
> Stoop is the best garb; your Spanish beard
> Is the best cut; your Spanish ruffs are the best
> Wear; your Spanish pavin the best dance;
> Your Spanish titillation in a glove
> The best perfume: and for your Spanish pike,
> And Spanish blade, let your poor captain speak. –[3]

Anglo-Spanish relationships were, as this thesis reveals, polarised and the act of wearing Spanish garb carried loaded meaning.

Spain loomed large in the hearts, minds and wardrobes of England's elite classes during the sixteenth century. It represented both a cultural model of worldliness and wealth, emulated and envied by its European neighbours, and a global leader in sartorial sophistication; its fashions bought and worn by Englishmen and women, even during times of Anglo-Spanish conflict. This thesis examines the dissemination, consumption and reception of luxury Spanish textiles and fashions amongst the English elite classes during the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, c.1554-1603. Significantly, it aims to uncover the role played by Spanish garb in the self-fashioning agendas of the English aristocracy and nobility, which has been overlooked in previous scholarship on Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and material exchanges, and it seeks to use English dress habits as a means of analysing elite attitudes to Spain, first as England's ally, and later, as its political and religious rival.

The troubled diplomatic relationship of England and Spain is well documented, with recent scholarship only just beginning to counter the accepted notion of total Anglo-Spanish enmity to demonstrate that their relationship was more nuanced, and oftentimes more positive than is commonly believed.[4] Indeed, despite increasing hostility between the two nations in the final quarter of the century (as famously memorialised in England's naval defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588) there existed a long-standing, and relatively understudied Anglo-Spanish amity, characterised by multiple inter-dynastic unions. England's cultural and diplomatic link with Spain was forged early on with Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon in 1509;

[3] B. Johnson, *Four select plays. Viz. The silent woman. Volpone, or the fox. Cataline's conspiracy. The alchemist. By Ben Jonson…[1610]* (London, 1715), p.360.

[4] A. Samson, 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39:1 (2009), pp.65-94; B. Fuchs, 'The Spanish Connection: Literary and Historical Perspectives on Anglo-Iberian Relations', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), pp.1-4; A. J. Cruz (ed.), *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008); B. J. García García, 'Peace with England, from Convenience to Necessity, 1596-1604' in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), pp.135-150.

strengthened, and at times tested, in Mary Tudor's union with Philip I of Austria (later, Philip II) in 1554; and largely sustained during Elizabeth I's reign.[5]

The study of England's relationship with Spain, as opposed to France or Italy, and its consumption of Spanish fashions rather than other European dress styles, therefore, is worthy of investigation owing to the special bond held between the two nations during the sixteenth century. This was a relationship that has since coloured historical scholarship and cemented the cultural stereotype of Spain as nation of cruel, proud and war-thirsty peoples.[6] England and Spain have often be described as 'sworn enemies' and it is generally agreed that it was in England, in the 1580s, that the Black Legend of Spain was first born: an injurious and essentialist discourse peddled by English pamphleteers to demonise their religious and political rival. However, as recent research has proven the ties that bound the two nations together were often stronger than we may initially perceive: both English and Spanish merchant classes were especially interested in maintaining strong links during the sixteenth century, ensuring that Spanish goods continued to trade into England.[7] As I illustrate in this thesis, commercial desires, and the demand for luxury Spanish fashions and textiles usually trumped the political and religious disturbances pulling these two nations apart. Cordoban leathers and fine Merino wools from Spain, as discussed in Chapter Two for instance, were exported to England even during the Anglo-Spanish trade embargoes of 1563, 1568-1573 and 1585, and Spanish and English craftsmen found a considerable market for Spanish wares in London.

[5] M. Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.11-36; H. Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue: The Construction of a Queen's Identity, Legitimacy, and the Wardrobe of Mary Tudor* (MA Thesis: Dalhousie University, 2011); A. Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', *Costume*, 18:1 (1984), pp.9-28; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988).

[6] W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C, 1971); E. Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard": Post-Armada Hispanophobia and English Renaissance Drama in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp.191-216; W. Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes: Anti-Spanish Rhetoric and Charles Cornwallis' Mission to Spain, 1605-1609' in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp.255-268.

[7] P. Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy 1585-1604', *The Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), pp.281-302; P. Croft, *The Spanish Company* (London, 1973); S. Flavin; E. T. Jones (eds.), *Bristol's trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503-1601. The evidence of the exchequer customs accounts*, Bristol Record Society Publications Vol.LXI (Dublin, 2009); J. Vanes (ed.), *Bristol at the time of the Spanish Armada* (Bristol, 1988); B. Dietz (ed.), *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London Documents* (London, 1972); R. Stone, '"Trading with the Enemy": Revisited: Statistical Evidence for Illicit Trade during the Anglo Spanish War (1585-1604)' (forthcoming article, unpublished, with thanks to Dr Richard Stone for sharing his draft article), pp.1-33.

Research into the cultural and material exchange of people, and luxury and basic goods between England and Spain is also substantive (focussing largely on Spanish wines, foodstuffs and lead) but it does not fully tell us what the implications were for English consumers embroiled in this network, how they used their Spanish wares, or how they imparted meaning onto them. Furthermore, Spanish clothes do not feature prominently in these studies, despite being commonly exchanged. Why, therefore, should this thesis use the consumption of *clothes* to measure English attitudes to Spain? Why not Spanish oil, lead or wine, which are all known to have been successfully imported into England? Simply put, Spanish clothes bore more visual and symbolic currency than most other Spanish wares purchased by the English during this period, owing to the manner in which they were used (i.e. worn publically on the body), and the spaces and occasions for which they were worn (court festivities, weddings, funerals, and general day-to-day life). Importantly, clothes were believed to communicate meaning and they assumed an increasingly semiotic existence during this period with garments being used as 'sign-vehicles' to communicate class, age, gender, race, profession, religion and political leaning.[8] Historically, clothing has been used to connote ideologies and alliances, to delineate the enslaved from the free, the 'mad' from the sane, and the privileged from the poor. Clothes, therefore, function on multiple levels depending upon the status of the wearer and the ways in which they are adopted. Serving first and foremost as protective layers to shield the body, they also act as cultural and social signifiers; as indicators of personal tastes; as 'gateways' to new social realms; and, in some cases, as political weapons.[9]

By drawing Spanish clothes into our central line of focus, therefore, this thesis examines not only the types of Spanish dress that the English elite were purchasing but also how, when and why they wore such foreign garb, and what their sartorial habits tell us about elite English attitudes towards Spain during this period. In doing so, this thesis asks three key research questions: firstly, it probes how the Spanish textiles and fashion diaspora functioned, asking how the 'Spanish Model' of fashion was manufactured, traded and sold. It consequently illustrates that Spanish fashions were made visible in the English cityscape not solely through trade processes, but also through means of travelling Spaniards to the realm. For instance, in addition to the Spanish aristocrats who became queen or king consorts to the English monarchs,

[8] S. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford/New York, 2003), p.79; P. Stallybrass; A. R. Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), p.2; J. Finkelstein, *The Fashioned Self* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.150-151.
[9] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.79.

members of the Spanish nobility occupied the English court and prized university offices, whilst Spanish merchants and craftsmen resided in the port cities of London and Bristol where they traded Spanish textile wares to eager English buyers. Spanish capes, gowns, boots, ruffs and leather jerkins entered the English wardrobe with considerable aplomb, sold as either the spoils of the Anglo-Spanish trade network or as creations of Spanish, and later English craftsmen on home soil. Secondly, this thesis considers the role played by Spanish dress in the self-fashioning agendas of the English elite, asking: why, and in what ways, did the English elite consume Spanish fashions, textiles and household furnishings to conceive of their own public image and identity? It looks at the key players at the English court – the two monarchs, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, and select noble individuals and families as discussed below – to analyse how they used Spanish dress in acts of Hispanophilia or, conversely, pseudo-Hispanophilia, to present an image of themselves that connoted either an alliance to Spain, or an English nationalistic stance, as seen in the dress practices of Elizabeth. Thirdly, this thesis asks whether the rise in Hispanophobia towards the tail end of the sixteenth century, which accompanied the souring of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relationships and the emergence of Black Legend literature, changed English consumption practices: it questions whether the negative public reception of Spaniards altered the ways in which the English elite bought Spanish dress, thought about Spanish dress, and responded to Spanish dress via visual and literary culture.

Examining England's relationship to Spain, and its reception of Spanish people, customs and culture – including dress – is meaningful precisely because Spain figured so prominently in the English public imagination during the mid- to late-sixteenth century, and beyond. For many Tudor Englishmen and women, Spain provided a desirable model to copy: its fashions were crafted from the finest textiles and dyes, its perfumes were highly coveted, its wines and oils were widely imported, and its imperial exploits in the New World were greatly envied.[10] For others, however, particularly during Elizabeth's reign, Spain represented the antithesis of their very being: Catholic, 'popish', extravagant and 'violent' tendencies were not deemed in keeping with an English Protestant sensibility.[11] Perhaps it is due to this later, pejorative reimagining of Spain, that its fashions have not received the full historical exposure

[10] B. Fuchs, 'Sketches of Spain: Early Modern England's "Orientalizing" of Iberia', in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), p.70.
[11] A. Plowden, *Danger to Elizabeth: the Catholics under Elizabeth I* (London, 1973); A. Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change* (Essex, 1983); M. Racine, '"A Pearle for a Prynce": Jerónimo Osório and Early Elizabethan Catholics', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 87:3 (2001), pp.401-427.

or analysis that they merit. This thesis offers a valuable contribution to the scholarship on Spain's role as a sartorial and cultural leader during the early modern era, therefore, not solely due to its focus on Spanish clothes, but also its chronological framework: it pinpoints a key fifty years in history when the Spanish presence would have been most strongly felt in England, either through the inter-dynastic union of Mary and Philip or as a political threat to the realm in the 1580s.

One might assume that this study could have focussed on the seventeenth century and the revival of English interest in Spain, following the signing of the 1604 Anglo-Spanish Peace Treaty, or indeed, the hesitant public reception of the proposed 'Spanish Match' between the English Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta María Ana in 1614.[12] However, Spain did not occupy quite the same centrality in cultural and political life as it did during Mary and Elizabeth's reigns; nor, were its fashions as readily taken up in England or as universally-influential as they had been during the sixteenth century.[13] By uncovering the centrality of Spanish fashions and luxury goods in the lives of elite English consumers, this thesis proves that Spain was not always considered a foe by her English neighbours in the sixteenth century, and that the decision to wear Spanish fashions was guided by both 'superficial' needs, such as personal taste and a desire for luxury clothing, as well as more moralistic, social and political interests, which were often materialised through self-fashioning agendas. Spanish dress, I argue, played a role in constructing the political and national identities of England's fashionable elite, and what they wore, and the way they wore it, spoke volumes about their attitudes towards Spain.

Historiography

When considering the ways in which early modern individuals used dress to craft their identities, literary historian Stephen Greenblatt's theory of self-fashioning offers a useful point of departure. Self-fashioning, the theory that the Renaissance individual fabricated his or her public identity according to social norms and habits, was introduced by Greenblatt in his *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980).[14] In Renaissance England,

[12] L. Miller, 'An Illustrious Gentleman Dressed the Spanish Way: The Visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.293-315.
[13] Indeed, by the seventeenth century, French fashions were the most popular in Europe.
[14] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980)

Greenblatt theorises, there existed an increased awareness that 'there were both selves and a sense that they could be fashioned'.[15] Self-fashioning was, he continues, a 'manipulable, artful process' in which the individual employed a socially-accepted 'cultural system of meanings', comprising behavioural habits and fashions as well as social regulations and traditions, to create his identity.[16] Whilst useful for considering the rise in self-awareness, particularly amongst the English elite, Greenblatt's theory is limited insofar as it is grounded purely in literary examples. He finds that 'self-fashioning is always, though not exclusively, in language'; a reciprocal relationship between the individual, language and text whereby the self is constructed through literature and language. Literary works such as conduct books, for instance, are described as both reflecting, and influencing, the individual's interest in altering or bettering his social identity. Greenblatt states,

> …self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life. It invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves.[17]

This concept of self-fashioning has since been widely applied to address other cultural phenomena as well as literature. Studies in identity formation in the fields of cultural anthropology by James Clifford, and in art, cultural and social history studies by Anne Hollander, Ulinka Rublack, Peter Stallybrass, Ann Rosalind Jones, and Susan Vincent, demonstrate that visual and material displays (such as clothing, portraiture and public processions or ceremonials) played just as important a role in the construction of the individual's identity as other cultural practices.[18] This scholarship advocates for a more 'material' approach to analysing such modes of self-fashioning, which takes into account the everyday, lived experiences of individuals and how they used objects – namely clothes – to perform, articulate and fabricate their identities and public persona. Rublack, for instance, stresses that the individual's 'subjectivity [during the Renaissance] was increasingly experienced in relation to [a] transient or durable object world, and not just in relation to other

[15] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p.2.
[16] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p.2.
[17] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, p.3.
[18] A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley, 1993); U. Rublack, 'Matter in the Material Renaissance', *Past and Present*, 219 (2013), pp.41-85; Stallybrass; Jones, *Materials of Memory*; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite.*

people'.[19] In this thesis, I draw upon these methodological approaches to analyse the interaction between the elite classes and clothing, and to reveal how, within the English court, the game of artifice was readily played by all and the very craftsmen (artificers) tasked with fixing, pinning, and making courtly dress were also invested with 'making' the social body – or identity – of their wearers (the courtiers) who used dress to achieve a desired image.

Linguistically, the term 'self-fashioning', brings to mind the notion of identities materialised and fabricated through clothing and textiles. The fashioned or dressed body refers not solely to a clothed individual, but a self-made man or woman whose image has been created – quite literally 'fashioned' – through clothes, comportment and material 'things'. We are reminded of sixteenth-century conduct literature, such as Castiglione Baldassare's *Il Cortegiano* (1528) and the numerous Spanish equivalents by Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, Alonso de Barros, Damasio de Frías and Juan Boscán, which suggest how the courtier might present, or mask his identity through dress and behaviour, or even the humanist writer Erasmus' musings that, 'clothing is in a way the body's body and from this too one may infer the state of a man's character'.[20] Significantly too, garments assumed meaning during the Renaissance as 'sign-bearers'. Elizabeth Currie's examination of masculinity in Renaissance Italy is also fruitful to this present study. She introduces the example of the Duke of Alessandro de' Medici whose decision to wear a pair of perfumed gloves, designated for 'making love', over a pair of 'fighting' gloves, she argues, 'conjures up opposing aspects of [his] character' and reveals how clothing could 'project different identities'.[21] Research into semiotics, too, provides additional insight for this thesis into how clothing carried meaning during the Renaissance: Roland Barthes, for instance, supports the notion that there existed a 'language of fashion' and Vincent too concludes that clothing bore 'immense symbolic importance' in the social realm.[22] In her discussion on elite English dress, Vincent makes the point that clothing and textiles functioned like text: 'textiles, then as now, operated in a way analogous to text. That is, bringing

[19] Rublack, 'Matter in the Material Renaissance', p.85.
[20] B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Middlesex, 1981); J. L. Palmireno, *El estudioso de la aldea* (1568); J. L. Palmireno, *El estudioso cortesano* (1573); A. de Barros, *Filosofía cortesana moralizada* (1587); Damasio de Frías, *Diálogo de la discreción* (1579); J. Boscán, *El Castiglione* (1534); E. Desiderio, 'On Good Manners for Boys' in B. McGregor (trans.) *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol.XXV (Toronto, 1985), p.278.
[21] E. Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London/New York, 2016), p.1.
[22] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.2; R. Barthes, *The Language of Fashion* (New York/Oxford, 2006)

interpretative strategies to bear on the dressed figure, [so that] viewers produced a range of complex and multiple readings'.[23]

Given the communicative nature of clothing, therefore, and the fact that individuals used dress to perform a social identity, it is unsurprising that John Adamson, in his research into European court culture, describes courtiers as living a 'semiotic existence'.[24] Their behaviour, dress and gestures, he argues, became inscribed in performative acts intended to communicate their social role and identity to those around them.[25] In this thesis, I build upon Adamson's ideation of European courtiers as being walking and talking 'A-boards' by considering the communicative and propagandistic nature of Spanish fashion when worn upon the elite English body. I also take my lead from Bronwen Wilson who, in examining early modern costume books, considers how prints of finely-dressed individuals incited the reader to consider his own outward appearance as an image:

> …the experience of looking at costume illustrations, as if looking in a mirror, may have encouraged viewers to imagine themselves as images, an experience that would have overlapped with social exchanges. The materiality of costume, as a threshold between the self and the world – an experience magnified by these prints – may have fostered a new kind of subject, as both an object and an 'I myself'.[26]

This type of self-objectification is advocated too by the art historian, Anne Hollander, who argues that the practice of dressing functions in a similar manner to other image-making practices such as portraiture. The dressed body, Hollander states, is self-consciously created in response to pre-existing images of dressed individuals, to contemporary ideals of beauty, and

[23] The descriptive lexicon attributed to early modern fashion too, which I discuss in Chapter One, reveals the ways in which clothing was used and interpreted during this period. It is unsurprising that in a society which stressed the importance of good etiquette, the terms 'costume' and 'habit' should also refer to customs, social habits and conventions. This pairing, of the material realm of clothing with the social world of courtesy, reflects a sense of fixity within the renaissance wardrobe, indicating that garments were adopted, as with certain behavioural traits, in a repeated and ritualistic manner. By contrast, the terms 'mode' and 'fashion', which emerged in the early 1500s when new styles of clothing were entering the European market, denote specific styles of dressing and the rapid introduction of new garb. See: Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.79; Stallybrass; Jones, *Materials of Memory*, pp.192-193; D. Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Régime'*, J. Birrell (trans.) (Cambridge, 1994), p.4; U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), p.15.
[24] J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 1999), p.27.
[25] Adamson, *Princely Courts*, p.27; B. Wilson, 'Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies' in B. Wilson (ed.) *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto/London, 2005), p.127.
[26] Wilson, 'Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies', p.132.

to current trends in fashion and style.[27] In short, the primary purpose of dress is to make real the image of the individual as already visualized and idealized through works of art. As Hollander explains, clothing,

> …contribute[s] to the making of a self-conscious individual image, an image linked to all other imaginative and idealized visualizations of the human body. Any such garment has more connection with the history of pictures than with any household objects or vehicles of its own moment – it is more like a Rubens than like a chair. Western clothing derives its visual authenticity, its claim to importance, its meaning and its appeal to the imagination, through its link with figurative art, which continually both interprets and creates the way it looks.[28]

Figurative art reveals what Hollander describes as contemporary 'habits of actual seeing' and also, by extension, 'visual self-awareness', as it shows not only how individuals perceived the world around them, but also themselves.[29] By recreating and reifying such two-dimensional painterly representations of the individual in a material, embodied form, clothing practices both respond to portrait practices and also function in a similar manner. Clothes, Hollander argues 'make not the man but the image of the man – and they make it in a steady, reciprocal accord with the way artists make, not lifeless effigies but vital representations'.[30] Hollander maintains, therefore, that clothing must be examined both within works of art, and *as* works of art because it too belongs to a wider practice of creating images: 'Dressing is always picture making, with reference to actual pictures that indicate how the clothes are to be perceived'.[31] Habits, gestures, body language and physical stances, too, are based upon existing images, ideals and accepted norms of behaviour and appearances.[32] By dressing himself, the individual creates an image; he becomes a work of art.

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[27] As Hollander states, it is 'only when [individuals] are safe inside that visual matrix [of art] [that] they then measure themselves against other persons inside the same frame and feel that they look different or similar, natural or strange.', see: Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.xii.

[28] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.xiv.

[29] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.xii.

[30] This is in keeping with Harry Berger's assertion that portraiture reveals not an act of presentation, but an act of representation: 'in portraiture, […] one never simply, unconditionally, presents oneself. Rather, one presents oneself *as* – as a sitter of a certain sort, and the "sort" is determined by a differential system of social conventions or discourses correlated to a differential system of poses. "A sitter of a certain sort" denotes a ready-made cultural interpretation, a prefabricated representation of, say, a noble, a merchant, a matron, a general, a patriarch, a marriageable daughter'. See: H. Berger Jr, *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, 1999), p.171; Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, pp.xv-xvi.

[31] 'Because they share in the perpetually idealizing vision of art, clothes must be seen and studied as paintings are seen and studied – not primarily as cultural by-products or personal expressions but as connected linked in a creative tradition of image-making'. See: Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, pp.xvi; 311.

[32] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.315.

Hollander's thesis, however, much like Greenblatt's, has been criticised for its limited scope. Her rejection of socio-cultural and psychological approaches to the study of dress, and her assertion that 'the history of dress or the study of clothes has no real substance other than in images of clothes', has been countered by Ulinka Rublack in her own work on the role played by clothing in the construction of social and cultural identities.[33] Rublack stresses the primacy of studying artefacts 'not just in their fixed form in paintings, but as real-life objects in use' which, she argues, both 'record the visual interests and tastes of particular social groups in history, as well as their social and emotional experiences' and which 'resulted from the remarkable mutual interaction of people and things, by which humans wrestled materials into objects and those things contributed to shaping the body as well as human culture and society'.[34] Where Hollander and Rublack intersect however, is in their belief that the visual representation of such cultural artefacts (clothing and other such objects) – i.e. the practice of image-making – not only recorded reality, but also created it. As Rublack explains,

> Image-making…became a technique to render something real, to impress it vividly like news footage on the minds of beholders. In Europe, artists aspired to make naturalistic likenesses of people, their dress, and accessories. There are many other examples of how important visual practices became for contemporaries to represent the world to themselves. And these visual practices not just recorded something existing, or represented preformed ideas, but shaped perceptions of reality.[35]

Visual displays, through costume and portraiture, were one such way of representing and constituting the individual's identity.

As this thesis elucidates, the self-fashioning agendas of the English elite were often played out through visual displays such as processions and ceremonials, portraiture and theatrical performances, and in public via social encounters with the Spanish entourage at court. As such, acts of self-fashioning were frequently a collective practice which saw individuals

[33] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.454; Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p.23.
[34] Rublack highlights other limitations of relying solely on images as source material: many sixteenth-century portraitists, she explains, were reduced by their own working conditions and therefore 'usually stuck to repeating the same patterns of dress or jewellery designs they had learned to do, rather than doing justice to a far wider and changing range of beautiful materials and objects that were on offer'. Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p.23 Rublack, 'Matter in the Material Renaissance', p.85.
[35] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p.21.

create clothed identities for themselves in response to the dress habits, behaviours, and reactions of their peers. Self-fashioning was a form of guaranteeing social acceptance into the status quo, as achieved by performing a prescribed role, oftentimes that of the 'ideal courtier'. The work of social historians Erving Goffman and Norbert Elias and, more recently Frank Whigham, Adamson and Wilson proves pertinent to this present study.[36] Elias and Goffman argue that the courtier's social mobility could be achieved through wearing the right dress and performing the social mores, ceremonials, and etiquette appropriate to one's station and audience: 'Commonly we find that upward mobility involves the presentation of proper performances and that efforts to move upward and efforts to keep from moving downward are expressed in terms of sacrifices made for the maintenance of front'.[37] It was during such 'performances', as Goffman elucidates, that the individual, playing his part, would '[request] his observers to take serious the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to belief that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess'.[38] Elias also aptly describes the royal court as being 'a theatre of social life', tightly governed by ritualistic performances such as etiquette and ceremonials which served to uphold the status hierarchy and power structures at play.[39] Courtly etiquette, he argues, 'had a major symbolic function in the structure of this society and its form of government' as it conferred honour and prestige to those involved, delineated individuals' status, and enforced social barriers, all the while engendering a form of competition between members of the court who sought to maintain or improve upon their rank.[40] It became a self-sustaining,

> ghostly *perpetuum mobile* that continued to operate regardless of any direct use-value, being impelled , as by an inexhaustible motor, by the competition for status and power of the people enmeshed in it – a competition both between themselves and with the mass of those excluded – and by their need for a clearly graded scale of prestige.[41]

[36] E. Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh, 1959); N. Elias, *The Court Society* (New York, 1983); F. Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court: Courtesy and the Performance-Audience Dialectic' *New Literary History*, Vol.XIV (1983), pp.623-639; Adamson, *Princely Courts*; B. Wilson, 'Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies' in B. Wilson (ed.) *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto/London, 2005), pp.70-132.
[37] Goffman, *Presentation of the Self*, p.45; Elias, *The Court Society*, p.87.
[38] E. Goffman, 'Performances: Belief in the part one is playing' in H. Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader* (London/New York, 2004), p.59.
[39] Elias, *The Court Society*, p.79.
[40] Elias, *The Court Society*, pp.84-85.
[41] Elias, *The Court Society*, pp.86-87.

The 'ideal courtier', discussed at length in Chapter One in relation to Goffman and Elias' theories, sought to cultivate an image of himself which was desirable to his peers, showcasing a flair for language and gestures, good manners, social etiquette, and appropriate dress. He engaged in what Frank Whigham also describes as an 'existential social project of courtesy', known as the performer-audience dialectic, wherein the courtier's actions were defined in relation to his audience's reactions and his identity was reified by their approval.[42]

Everyday ritualistic performances, as outlined above, were thus key to sustaining the infrastructure of the European court. Rituals took the form of daily dressing acts, as discussed in Chapter One, processions, the hierarchical and gendered occupation of space, and both religious and secular ceremonies. According to Henry Bial, rituals, relying so on repetition, can be defined as being types of performances that not only 'provide structure and continuity to our lives', but they also 'exemplify and reinforce the values and beliefs of the group that performs them'.[43] Importantly, Bial stresses,

> [Rituals have] '"real" consequences. Religious or sacred rituals express or enact belief, connecting the participants to a spiritual power. Secular rituals, while not specifically religious, nevertheless invoke the authority of some concept larger than the individual: the state, the community, tradition. Even a private individual ritual such as one's daily grooming routine takes on enhanced significance as a means of defining oneself in relation to the society at large.[44]

Victor Turner's work on the meaning and structure of rituals is especially relevant to the study of court societies. Just as Bial asserts that rituals engender 'real consequences', Turner too stresses that these kinds of performances can 'instigate social action'.[45] In his book, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (1974), Turner states that 'The social world is a world in becoming, not a world in being'; a sentiment he carries forward when

[42] Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court', p.625.
[43] Victor Turner also offers the following definition: 'A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors; foals and interests. Rituals may be seasonal, hallowing a culturally defined moment of change in the climatic cycle or the inauguration of an activity such as planting, harvesting, or moving from winter to summer pasture; or they may be contingent, held in response to an individual or collective crisis. Contingent rituals may be further subdivided into life-crisis ceremonies, which are performed at birth, puberty, marriage, death, and so on, to demarcate the passage from one phase to another in the individual's life-cycle…' See: V. Turner, 'Symbols in African Ritual', *Science*, 179 (1973), p.1100; H. Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader* (London/New York, 2004), p.77.
[44] H. Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader* (London/New York, 2004), p.77.
[45] V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, 1974), p.55.

he discusses how ritual actions – such as feasting, dancing, singing, dressing or adorning the body – can actually '[cause] in some cases real transformations of character and of social relationships…its symbolic behaviour actually "creates" society'.[46]

The social and political spheres in which elite individuals operated, and the ways in which they negotiated and made meaning of the cultural world around them, is an important focus in this thesis. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's work on social class and cultural taste is useful for considering the ways in which individuals at Mary and Elizabeth's courts engaged with Spanish fashions and expressed their own sartorial tastes. Whilst this thesis is largely concerned with politicised dress acts – namely, instances where individuals dressed in Spanish garb so as to communicate their attitude towards Spain – it does also acknowledge other reasons for the elite consumption of Spanish fashions, including: personal taste, flights of fancy, the desire to look fashionable or 'dress the part', or to take advantage of an opportunity to purchase foreign wares. In his seminal text, *Distinction* (1979), Bourdieu introduces a concept that seeks to theorise the relationship between culture, social stratification and the individual's agency and offers a useful framework for considering the English taste for Spanish wares.

In his summary of Bourdieu's work, David Swartz states that power relations amongst social classes (specifically the struggle for power and social distinction) 'stands at the heart of all social life'.[47] Similar to Elias and Goffman's descriptions of jockeying courtiers and the 'ghostly *perpetuum mobile*', then, Swartz too finds that the focus of Bourdieu's study is 'on how cultural socialization places individuals and groups within competitive status hierarchies…how actors struggle and pursue strategies to achieve their interests within such fields, and how in doing so actors unwittingly reproduce the social stratification order'.[48] This notion that individuals internalize the social order is closely tied to ideas surrounding taste, as Niilo Kauppi also finds in his discussion of *Distinction*: 'taste is an internalized social resource or form of capital: the social world incorporated, lodged in the physical body'.[49] Ideas concerning what is deemed fashionable, desirable and 'good' – i.e. 'tasteful' – for a particular group of individuals is established socially as a common belief, and internalized individually, so that this belief system becomes the norm. Having 'good' taste also becomes a positive asset.

[46] Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, pp.24; 56.
[47] D. Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago/London, 1997), p.6.
[48] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp.6-7; P. Coulangeon; J. Duval (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Bourdieu's Distinction* (London/New York, 2015), p.8.
[49] N. Kauppi, *The Politics of Embodiment: Habits, Power, and Pierre Bourdieu's Theory* (Frankfurt, 2000), p.35.

This is linked, Pekka Sulkunen finds, to how culture is created and given meaning. According to Sulkenen, Bourdieu's methodological approach seeks to question how the 'cultural system of society' emerges and 'what determines this appreciation [or taste] and how is it expressed and lived among the different sections of the dominating classes and among the dominated popular classes'.[50] Bourdieu's sociology, Sulkenen continues, reveals an,

> …incessantly changing pattern of cultural forms of domination, competition for power and prestige… [It reveals] a struggle between social groups where we might least expect it: in the practice of photography, attendance of art museums, musical tastes, leisure patterns, selection of foods on the dinner table, clothes, sports, etc. In all these areas the cultural patterns reveal an expression of a contest for position, a distinction from others as a possessor of taste - and of power.[51]

These relations, as Bourdieu shows, play out through the triad concept of *habitus*, *symbolic capital* and *field*. *Symbolic capital* can be defined as the individual's assets or resources; greater capital equates to a greater status or authority in the social realm. *Capital* can take the form of titles, rank and lineage, possessions, clothing and appearances, skills and taste, all of which bear symbolic value and can be acquired or lost by the individual. *Habitus*, conversely, is described by Bourdieu as 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions', habits or beliefs that are culturally rather than biologically produced in the individual (and often from a young age during early socialization) which influence his later behaviour. As Kauppi summarises, 'habitus is a set of dispositions and internalized possibilities which enable a person to orient her/himself in the social world'.[52] In *Distinctions*, for instance, Bourdieu explicates the taste for fine art amongst the French upper classes in the 1960s: they were not natural consumers of fine art because they were biologically superior to other social classes, he argues, they consumed art because they received greater, and earlier exposure to such high culture – a luxury that was not always afforded to members of the working class.[53] They enjoyed a greater taste (*capital*) for art because they already had the ingrained understanding of, and inclination (*habitus*) towards it. Where *Habitus* and *Symbolic Capital* play out is in the *Field*, a term defined by Bourdieu as meaning the environment or contextual situation – be it the royal court, the playing field, or the classroom – where social action takes place.

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[50] P. Sulkenen, 'Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu', *Acta Sociologica*, 25:2 (1982), p.104.

[51] Sulkenen, 'Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu', p.106.

[52] Kauppi, *The Politics of Embodiment*, p.36; P. Bourdieu, 'Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus', *Rapport*, 10, Insititutt for Sosiologi of samfunnsgeografi, Universitetet i Oslo (1996), p.17.

[53] D. Miller (ed.) *Consumption: Critical concepts in the social sciences*, Vol.IV (London/New York, 2001), pp.228-229.

In applying Bourdieu's theory to sixteenth-century England, we can gauge a deeper sociological understanding of the English taste for Spanish fashions and why this type of foreign dress may have appealed to the elite wearer. The predisposition, and taste, for wearing luxury, foreign fashions amongst the upper classes can be described as *habitus*; this community both created and internalized the symbolic significance of such fashions. High-quality foreign dress represented worldliness, wealth, travel and exploration, global dominion and imperial might.[54] The act of owning and wearing such foreign dress therefore served as *symbolic capital* that both bestowed upon the individual power, status and a sense of 'fashionableness', and allowed him to accrue more capital within the *field* of the English court and amongst elite circles.[55] Wearing Spanish dress for some members of Mary and Elizabeth's court signified a purported alliance to Philip and his Spanish entourage, and Spain at large; for others, however, it was a means of demonstrating a fashionable taste for luxury clothing, another means of navigating the 'competitive status hierarchy' of the European court.[56]

Central to this thesis, therefore, is the study of objects – clothes – and their role in the social lives of their wearers. I engage with the recent methodological trend in historical studies (otherwise termed the 'material turn') which foregrounds the importance of material culture when examining the social and cultural interactions of past individuals. Such studies, I argue, are vital to our understanding of how individuals constructed their identities during the early modern era, simply because this was a time when the circulation of objects – namely, luxury goods – reached unprecedented heights. The expansion of global trade networks allowed for greater overseas travel and exploration; newly urbanised centres enabled a growth in material wealth; and literary genres, such as costume books, introduced individuals to countries and wardrobes from around the world.[57] As a result, the ways in which individuals understood themselves, and related to the world around them, was often mediated through objects. Clifford expands upon Greenblatt's literary approach to self-fashioning by examining how individuals amassed objects to create a sense of self, arguing that the individual's identity constituted 'a

[54] As Sulkenen makes clear, however, the definition of 'good taste' is constantly changing. Culture is not, he argues, 'a structure of given meanings', but a field of action. Culture is a meaning structure…it is produced, reproduced and used by an acting subject'. See: Sulkenen, 'Society Made Visible: On the Cultural Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu', p.106.

[55] This can, incidentally, also be applied to political calculi, especially when considering the dress habits of certain Englishmen amongst the Spanish entourage (e.g. the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke), as discussed in Chapter Four.

[56] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp.6-7.

[57] M. F. Rosenthal; A. R. Jones (eds.), *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni. The Clothing of the Renaissance World* (London, 2008); Wilson, 'Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies'

kind of wealth (of objects, knowledge, memories, experience)'.[58] This notion, that the individual's self was materialised through his or her interaction with objects, is also supported by Rublack who argues that objects provide us with,

> …a sense of being not only in relation to other people, work, nature, space, or religion, but through creative exchange with the material world. Objects impart their qualities (say colour, or texture) to us and we relate to them emotionally and think that they represent our tastes, values, wishes, and spirituality, our connection with others and to our past.[59]

Clothes especially gained currency in the daily lives of their wearers: they dressed the human body, but they also fashioned aspects of the individual's identity, giving material form to a prescribed role or making real a new and desired status.[60] Stallybrass and Jones support the argument that the individual's identity was made through wearing clothing, stating, 'it was investiture, the putting on of clothes, that quite literally constituted a person as a monarch or a freeman of a guild or a household servant. Investiture was, in other words, the means by which a person was given a form, a shape, a social function, a "depth"'.[61]

Despite the significance of dress in the lives of sixteenth-century individuals, it is only in the past few decades that studies into historical sartorial practices have gathered momentum.[62] The study of dress has often been subsumed under other academic disciplines, such as art or social or cultural history, and the methodological approaches applied to clothing have been shaped accordingly with dress habits viewed either through the lens of visual culture, as seen in the work of Hollander, or its social and cultural context, as seen in the work of Rublack and Vincent.[63] Efforts to consider dress history as a discipline in its own right too have

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[58] J. Clifford, 'On Collecting Art and Culture' in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), p.218.

[59] This thesis follows Rublack's position that the study of clothes is valuable to the study of early modern identity formation as, 'our account of past societies must be concerned with the life of objects in people's lives. Central here must be clothes alongside images of clothes, because they played such an immediate role in constituting identities'. See: Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p.3.

[60] Vincent too maintains that 'dress, indeed, creates a certain body and then influences behaviours and thoughts, and relationships within others'. See: Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.5

[61] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.5; Stallybrass; Jones, *Materials of Memory*, p.2.

[62] L. Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester, 2002); V. Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History* (London, 2004)

[63] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*; A. Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice: Perceptions of Spanish Dress in Seventeenth-century England', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.317-339; U. Rublack; M. Hayward (eds.), *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthaeus Veit Konrad Schwarz of Ausberg* (London, 2015); Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*; M. Hayward, 'Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII', *Textile History*, 38:2 (2007), pp.135-150; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*.

witnessed diverse methodological strands emerge: traditional 'dress history', an approach adopted by Stella Mary Newton, James Laver and, in her early work, Janet Arnold, privileges close-hand object-based research which works from the garment 'outwards' to produce a chronological timeline of dress styles and fashions, and to establish what the garment proper can tell us about its usage.[64] This approach is largely counteracted by fashion theory, as wielded by Elizabeth Wilson and Joanne Entwistle, which is concerned primarily with theoretical understandings of dress (i.e. how did dress and fashion function in society) and uses clothing as illustrative examples.[65] More recently, however, scholars working in the field of dress and fashion have begun to draw from material culture studies.[66] Giorgio Riello's methodology of dress history, termed 'the material culture of fashion', usefully aims to study garments both in terms of their materiality, and the 'abstract concepts' that tell us something about their role within a given time or place. This is a methodology that I apply in this thesis – most overtly, for instance, in Chapter's Three and Four where I examine individuals' inventories, their clothing, and its uses and meaning – and that, as Riello puts it, focuses on the 'modalities and dynamics through which objects take on meaning […] in human lives'.[67]

Remarkably, despite being the most fashionable and widely-disseminated dress styles in Europe in the mid- to late-sixteenth century, Spanish dress has only received limited scholarly attention amongst a handful of art and dress historians. The most notable of these is Carmen Bernis whose canonical Spanish-language essay and text, 'La moda en la España de Felipe II a través del retrato de Corte' (1990) and *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote* (2001) provide an overview of Spanish clothing and sartorial practices found in the portraiture of Spanish court artist, Alonso Sánchez Coello, and the writings of Miguel de Cervantes

[64] S. M. Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 37 (1953), pp.3-25; J. Laver, *Costume in the Western World* (London, 1951); J. Laver, *Style in Costumes* (London, 1949); Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*; J. Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion. The cut and construction of clothes for men and women, c.1560-1620* (London, 1985); J. Arnold, *Lost from Her Majesties back': items of clothing and jewels lost or given away by Queen Elizabeth I between 1561 and 1585, entered in one of the day books kept for the records of the Wardrobe of Robes* (London, 1980); J. Arnold, 'A Study of Three Jerkins', *Costume*, 5:1 (1971), pp.36-43.

[65] E. Wilson; J. Entwistle, *Body Dressing: Dress, Body and Culture* (Oxford, 2001); G. Simmel, 'Fashion', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 62: 6 (1957), pp.541-58.

[66] A. Gerritsen; G. Riello (eds.), *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London, 2015); A. Gerritsen; G. Riello (eds.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London, 2015); E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (London, 2005); A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1988)

[67] G. Riello, 'The object of fashion: methodological approaches to the history of fashion', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, 3 (2011), p.6.

Saavedra.[68] Miguel Herrero García's *Estudios sobre la indumentaria española en la época de los Austrias* (2014) and *Los Tejidos en la España de los Austrias* (2014) too offer valuable analyses of Spanish dress components and textiles manufacturing processes, and make mention of contemporary inventories and literary sources where such fashions are referenced.[69] Brian Reade and Hilary Davidson both offer useful, albeit brief surveys of sixteenth-century Spanish fashions, and Ruth Anderson and Lesley Miller's work on fifteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish dress, respectively, provide a useful contextual and chronological dovetail to this present study.[70] Specific studies into the Spanish court itself, and the dress of its elite courtiers, include essays by Almudena Pérez de Tudela on the infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Micaela Catalina, Amalia Descalzo and Carmen Bernis on male and female Spanish Habsburg dress, and José Luis Colomer on the use of black colorant in the Spanish wardrobe.[71] Cordula van Wyhe's research into the monastic dress of certain Habsburg women – the Archduchess Margaret, Empress Maria and infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, for instance – reveals the types of liturgical investiture that replaced the everyday 'fashionable high-necked Spanish court dress' worn by these women before they entered the convent.[72] Very few studies exist, however, that are dedicated to individual Spanish craft processes, barring John Waterer's work on Spanish leather and Carla Rahn Phillips and William Phillips Jr.'s meticulous study of Spanish wool.[73]

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[68] C. Bernis, 'La moda en la España de Felipe II a través del retrato de Corte' in A. E. Pérez Sánchez (ed.) *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la Corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1990), pp.65-111; C. Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote* (Madrid, 2001)

[69] M. H. García, *Estudios sobre la indumentaria española en la época de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2014); M. H. García, *Los Tejidos en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2014)

[70] B. Reade, *Costume of the Western World: The Dominance of Spain, 1550-1600* (London, 1951); H. Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court' in G. Riello; P. McNeil (eds.) *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (London, 2010), pp.169-171; R. M. Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530* (New York, 1979); Miller, 'An Illustrious Gentleman Dressed the Spanish Way', pp.293-315.

[71] A. Pérez de Tudela, 'Costume at the Court of Philip II: Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.321-362; A. Descalzo, 'Spanish Male Costume in the Habsburg Period', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.15-38; C. Bernis; A. Descalzo, 'Spanish Female Dress in the Habsburg Period', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.39-76; J. L. Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.77-112; J. Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago, 2005); F. Checa; G. Redworth, 'The Kingdoms of Spain: The Courts of the Spanish Habsburgs 1500-1700', in J. Adamson (ed.) *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 1999), pp.43-65; M. A. S. Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)' in *The Year after the Armada and Other Historical Studies* (London, 1896), pp.207-261.

[72] C. van Wyhe, 'The Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit Spanish Habsburg Courts' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.251-291.

[73] J. W. Waterer, *Spanish leather: a history of its use from 800 to 1800 for mural hangings, screens, upholstery, altar frontals, ecclesiastical vestments, footwear, gloves pouches and caskets* (London, 1971); J. W. Waterer, *Leather and Craftmanship* (London, 1970); C. Rahn Phillips; W. D. Phillips Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece. Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore/London, 1997); C.

With the exception of Miller, Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder, who examine the ways in which Spanish dress courted both positive and negative attention amongst spectators, by and large, these studies ascribe to the early methodological practices of dress historians such as Laver and Newton, mentioned above. They chart the evolution of dress 'types', rather than considering the wider social and political implications that donning such Spanish clothing might have had for their wearers. As a consequence, they do not fully consider the global production and outreach of the Spanish wardrobe, or how it was received and worn by non-Spanish consumers. As previously outlined, to understand such matters requires erring away from traditional approaches to dress history, and looking towards material culture studies. Dana Leibsohn and Riello's scholarship on global trade networks, and Immanuel Wallerstein's research into the Manila-Acapulco trade route (which fed luxury silks from China and the Philippines into Mexico and, eventually, into Spain) illustrate how Spain relied upon domestic *and* international textile and dye industries.[74] The work of Colomer, Elena Phipps, Amelia Peck, Raymond Lee and Lucina Llorente Llorente too, usefully showcases the international nature of the Spanish wardrobe by examining the Iberian trade of American dyestuffs and European textiles.[75] However, these studies do not fully consider the reception of Spanish fashions in the Iberian Peninsula itself, or beyond. Attempts to broach the topic of the Spanish textiles diaspora have been introduced in Colomer and Descalzo's *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe* (2014) where scholars, including Lena Rangström, Milena Hajná and Paola Venturelli examine the treatment of Spanish dress in various European centres, such as Milan, Mantua, Sweden and Bohemia.[76]

Rahn Phillips, 'The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750', in J. D. Tracy (ed.) *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.34-101.

[74] D. Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', in D. Pierce; R. Otsuka (eds.) *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America and Early Global Trade* (Denver, 2012), pp.11-40; G. Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge, 2013); I. M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world-economy, 1600-1750 (Studies in Social Discontinuity)* (San Francisco, 2011); *El galeón de Manila*, Hospicio de los Venerables Sacerdotes; Museo Franz Mayer; Museo Histórico de Acapulco; Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla (eds.) (Spain, 2000)

[75] Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image'; E. Phipps, 'The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America', in A. Peck (ed.) *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (London, 2013), pp.28-45; E. Phipps, 'Global Colours: Dyes and Dye Trade', in A. Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (London, 2013), pp.121-135; A. Peck (ed.) *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade. 1500-1800* (London, 2013); R. L. Lee, 'Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600', *The Americas*, 4:4 (1948), pp.449-473; L. Llorente Llorente, 'Textile Novelties in the Habsburg Period', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.165-182.

[76] Roberta Orsi Landini, Bruna Niccoli, Franca Varallo, Emilie Gordenker, Beatrix Bastl, José Luis Colomer, Lilla Tompos too consider Spanish dress in Florence, Savoy, Brussels and Hungary. See: L. Rangström, 'Swedish Lions of Fashion in Spanish Costume' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.173-194; M. Hajná, 'Spanish Fashion in the Kingdom of Bohemia

The scholarship on the English consumption of Spanish dress is relatively limited. Maria Hayward considers the emergence of Spanish dress in England via the arrival of Spanish aristocracy such as Catherine of Aragon, who lived at the court of Henry VIII when Anglo-Spanish relations were generally amiable.[77] Hayward's argument, that Catherine employed 'politicised' dress practices by wearing Spanish fashions at key diplomatic events so as to communicate her political alliance, provides a useful theoretical framework for this study. Hilary Doda too, in her analysis of Mary Tudor as the bride of Philip II of Spain, considers how the queen used Spanish dress to 'Hispanicise' herself during the brief four years of her reign and Joanna Woodall, in her essay on Anthonis Mor's portrait of Mary, argues that the queen used visual displays and clothing to present herself as a Spanish Habsburg Queen.[78] At the opposite end of the spectrum, Aileen Ribeiro analyses the negative perception of Spanish fashions amongst an Hispanophobic English populace at the close of the century following the Armada, and Miller too explores ambivalent English attitudes to Spanish dress during the 'Spanish Match' in the early 1600s.[79] Alison Carter offers a further exploration into Mary's Spanish purchases and Arnold provides insight into Elizabeth's foreign purchases, although her discussion of Spanish dress is limited.[80] Whilst England figures prominently in this scholarship, this research displays a polarised view of Anglo-Spanish relations, largely offering insight into the first quarter and final decades of the sixteenth century when English attitudes to Spain were either generally very positive, or highly xenophobic, respectively. It does not chart how and why the reception and usage of Spanish dress began to change at the courts of

under Rudolf II (1552-1612)' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.213-236; P. Venturelli, 'Spanish Fashion among Women of Milan and Mantua (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.87-116; R. O. Landini; B. Niccoli, 'The Image of a New Power: Fashion at the Florentine Court in the Mid Sixteenth Century' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.37-62; F. Varallo, 'Catalina Micaela at the Court of Savoy' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.63-86; E. Gordenker, 'Isabel Clara Eugenia at the Court of Brussels' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.117-136; B. Bastl; J. L. Colomer, 'Two Spanish Infantas at the Imperial Court' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.137-172; L. Tompos, 'Spanish Fashions in the Clothing of the Hungarian Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.195-212.

[77] Hayward, 'Spanish Princess', pp.11-36.

[78] Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue*; J. Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', *Art History*, 14:2 (1991), pp.192-224.

[79] A. Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice: Perceptions of Spanish Dress in Seventeenth-century England', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.317-339; Miller, 'An Illustrious Gentleman Dressed the Spanish Way', pp.293-315.

[80] Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', pp.9-28; A. Carter, *Mary Tudor's Wardrobe of Robes: Documentary and Visual Evidence of Mary's Dress Style as Princess, 1516-1553, and as Mary I, Queen of England, 1553-1558* (MA Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1982)

Mary and Elizabeth, or how Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations affected this material exchange. Furthermore, these studies do not consider the English consumption of Spanish fashions beyond the royal household and amongst the elite classes. This thesis therefore attempts to fill this lacuna by examining the 'Hispanicised' dress practices of Mary, Elizabeth and the English nobility.

Research into the English elite and their dress habits has been covered more broadly by Jane Ashelford, Joseph Bettey, Elizabeth Ralph and Vincent, with scholars such as Arnold, Carter, Doda and Hayward as mentioned above, as well as Simon Adams and Tracey Wedge providing comprehensive monographs, and transcriptions and analyses of the household accounts and inventories, of individuals such as Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, Henry VIII and Robert Dudley.[81] Examining specific groups of individuals, such as the so-called 'Spanish Faction' (a group of English noblemen who demonstrated an affiliation to the Spanish entourage at Mary's court), however, requires both analysing State Papers that describe who was embroiled in said ensemble and also understanding how Tudor factions functioned. John Neale's seminal work on Tudor factions in Elizabeth's court, which painted a picture of

[81] J. Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I* (London, 1988); J. Bettey; E. Ralph (eds.), *Tudor Wills Proved in Bristol, 1546-1603* (Bristol, 1993); S. Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (Cambridge, 1995); T. L. Wedge, *Constructing splendour: the wardrobe of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), consumption and networks of production* (PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2013). See also: P. Stallybrass, 'Worn worlds: clothes and identity on the Renaissance stage' in M. de Grazia; M. Quilligan; P. Stallybrass (eds.) *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.289-320; R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963); R. Strong, *Gloriana. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987); R. Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983); J. Ridley, *The Life and Times of Mary Tudor* (London, 1973); H. F. M. Prescott, *Spanish Tudor: The Life of Bloody Mary* (London, 1940); J. Richards, *Elizabeth I* (London, 2012); J. Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *Historical Journal*, 40:4 (1997), pp.895-924; D. Loades, *Elizabeth I* (London, 2006); D. Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England' in C. Cross; D. Loades; J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.) *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.177-194; A. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, 2010); A. Whitelock; A. Hunt (eds.), *Tudor Queenship* (New York, 2010); T. Betteridge, 'Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor' in S. Doran; T. S. Freeman (eds.) *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp.139-141; J. Murphy, 'The Illusion of Decline: the Privy Chamber, 1547-1558' in D. Starkey (ed.) *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp.119-146; A. Heisch, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy', *Feminist Review*, 4 (1980), pp.45-56; A. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558-1585* (Cambridge, 1999); A. Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (Hampshire, 2010); J. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford, 2013); H. Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77:3 (2014), pp.225-256; C. Bolland; T. Cooper (eds.), *The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered*, (London, 2014); S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and foreign policy, 1558-1603* (London, 2000); S. Doran; T. S. Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (New York, 2011); N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005); J. Guy, *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995)

jockeying courtiers, rivalry and competition, is now generally perceived as outdated.[82] Recent debates on this topic find that factions were reactive (i.e. formed in response to an event, ideology or the need of the individual), more positive than negative (individuals united over mutual interests), and held less sway at court than traditionally perceived. The revisionist work of Janet Dickinson, for instance, suggests that factions were formed of groups of individuals with shared ideologies who sought to 'serve the monarch and the common weal as best they could'.[83] They were also, she argues, opportunistic in nature with individuals massing together in times of need. Mathieu Caesar too finds that factions often emerged in response to certain events or concerns, 'lasting only during the time of the circumstances which generated them'.[84] And Adams argues that in Elizabeth's reign, factions did not truly exist until the 1590s and it was individuals, rather than groups, that had greater influence at court.[85] This scholarship informs us about how individuals responded to Spain (by forming supposedly 'pro-Spanish' groups at court, although 'anti-Spanish' groups could have existed too) in a smaller, more localised setting, but it does not always go so far as to elucidate the broader state of Anglo-Spanish relations.

Recent revisionist histories, however, have brought to light a different side to this relationship; one which is characterised by periods of peace when ties of friendship bound the two nations together. Cultural and social historians Alexander Samson and Anne J. Cruz for instance counter the notion of Anglo-Spanish enmity and demonstrate that their relationship was more nuanced, and oftentimes more positive than is commonly believed.[86] Cultural

[82] E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene' in E. Neale (ed.) *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), pp.69-74; 79-84; P. E. J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, faction and the earl of Essex' in J. Guy (ed.) *The Reign of Elizabeth I, Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), p.67.

[83] Dickinson supports Eric Ives' definition of factions as groups which sought out positive as well as negative objectives. See: J. Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction at the Tudor Court' in R. González Cuerva; A. Koller (eds.) *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions: Political Groups at Early Modern Centres of Power (1550-1700)* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), pp.22; 25; E. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (London, 1979), pp.1-2.

[84] M. Caesar, 'Did Factions Exist? Problems and Perspectives on European Factional Struggles (1400-1750)' in M. Caesar (ed.) *Factional Struggles: Divided Elites in European Centres and Courts (1400-1750)* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), p.16; Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction', pp.30-31.

[85] Natalie Mears also argues that factionalism re-emerged in the 1590s because Elizabeth had weakened as a ruler. See: N. Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *Historical Journal*, 46:3 (2003), p.708; Dickinson. 'Redefining Faction', p.22; 36; S. Adams, 'Faction, Clientage and Party: English politics, 1550–1603', *History Today*, 32 (1982), pp.1-16.

[86] Samson, 'Fine Romance', pp.65-94; A. Samson, '"The colour of the country": English travellers in Spain, 1604-1625', *Studies in Travel Writing, Special Issue: Early Modern Travel* (2009), pp.111-124; A. Samson, 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36:3 (2005), pp.761-784; A. J. Cruz (ed.), *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008); B. J. García García, 'Peace with England', pp.135-150; M. de Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late Sixteenth Century' in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), pp.13-

historian, Barbara Fuchs, also argues that Spain must always be factored in when studying sixteenth-century England as, 'both as a powerful cultural model and as an imperial rival, Spain is of crucial importance for understanding England's cultural and political self-definition' during this period.[87] The ties binding these two nations together, she argues, were equally as strong during periods of war as England finds it 'must negotiate Spain's cultural and intellectual influence even when it seems most reluctant or unlikely to do so'.[88]

Through their research into Anglo-Spanish trade networks and diplomatic relations, Pauline Croft, Jason Eldred and William Goldman also offer valuable points of departure for this study.[89] They reveal how English and Spanish merchant classes were especially interested in maintaining strong Anglo-Spanish links during the sixteenth century, and the wartime period, with Goldman conceding that, 'shared goals, including the resumption of normal trading relations and the safeguarding of nationals in foreign lands, proved an antidote to claims of an inherent irreconcilability between these two erstwhile enemies'.[90] Knowledge of the Bristol and London trade with Spain and Europe has been developed over the past decade by social and economic historians Richard Stone, Susan Flavin, Evan Jones, Jean Vanes and Brian Dietz whose analyses and transcriptions of the Bristol and London Particulars Accounts and Port Books have unveiled a far larger Anglo-Spanish trade than previous perceived.[91] And again, the work of Samson, as well as Susan Doran, David Loades, Judith Richards and Karen Stagg provide useful frameworks for examining the nature of diplomatic interactions between

28; R. Allinson; G. Parker, 'A King and Two Queens: The holograph correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I' in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges. Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Surrey, 2015), pp.95-117.

[87] Fuchs, 'Spanish Connection', p.1.

[88]Fuchs, 'Spanish Connection', p.1; Allinson; Parker, 'A King and Two Queens', pp.95-117; H. Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth-Century Seville', in C. A. Williams (ed.) *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products and Practices on the Move* (Surrey, 2009), pp.57-74; B. J. García García, 'Peace with England', pp.135-150; Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain', pp.13-28; A. Samson, 'Power Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary', in A. Whitelock; A. Hunt (eds.) *Tudor Queenship* (New York, 2010), pp.159-172.

[89] P. Croft, 'The State of the World is Marvellously Changed: England, Spain and Europe, 1558-1604' in S. Doran; G. Richardson (eds.) *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Hampshire/ New York, 2005), pp.178-202; Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy 1585-1604', pp.281-302; Croft, *The Spanish Company*; J. Eldred, '"The Just will pay for the Sinners": English Merchants, the Trade with Spain, and Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1563-1585', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), pp.5-28; Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes', pp.255-68.

[90] Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes', p.256.

[91] Stone, 'Trading with the Enemy: Revisited'; Flavin; Jones, *Bristol's trade with Ireland and the Continent*; Vanes, *Bristol at the time of the Spanish Armada*; Dietz, *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London*; T. S. Willan (ed.), *A Tudor book of rates* (1962); A. Ruddock, 'Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review*, 61:239 (1946), pp.1-17; D. Beecher, 'The legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan trader and translator', *Renaissance Studies*, 20:3 (2006), pp.320-39.

members of the English and Spanish courts; however, by and large, these studies concentrate on the intricacies of England's foreign policy towards Spain.[92] Only Samson and Richards consider the role of dress in these political and cultural exchanges. Regarding how individuals bought their textile wares once they were traded into England, Evelyn Welch and Linda Levy Peck's respective research into shopping practices and sites in early modern Europe is especially pertinent to this study and provides valuable contextual insight into the ways in which English consumers may have acquired foreign, Spanish goods.[93]

Whilst commercially, Anglo-Spanish relations were strong, on a personal and political level Englishmen responded to Spain in an increasingly negative manner as the century progressed. Scholarship on English xenophobia – and more explicitly Hispanophobia – from Lien Bich Luu, Laura Hunt Yungblut and Scott Oldenburg considers how the rise in multiculturalism in urban centres saw a spike in racism.[94] The birth of the Black Legend of Spain, which coincided with a breaking point in Anglo-Spanish relations in the 1580s, has been closely examined by cultural historians Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo, Maureen Quilligan and William Maltby and analysed by literary historians Griffin, Susan Clark, Cynthia Lowenthal, Lloyd Edward Kermode and Bertrand Whitehead who find it to be symptomatic of a concurrent increase in English nationalism, anti-Catholicism and a general feeling of malaise towards the threat of war.[95] This thesis builds upon this Black Legend scholarship to

[92] Samson, 'Fine Romance', pp.65-94; Doran; Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor*; Doran, *Elizabeth I and foreign policy*; Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', pp.177-194; Richards, *Elizabeth I*; K. Stagg, *The Spanish Ambassadors in London during the Reign of Elizabeth I* (PhD Thesis: University of Bristol, 1979)

[93] E. Welch, 'Sites of Consumption in Early Modern Europe' in Frank Trentmann (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp.231; E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven, 2005); L. Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), p.52.

[94] L. Bich Luu, 'Taking the bread out of our mouths: Xenophobia in early modern London', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 19:2 (2000), pp.1-22; L. Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, perceptions & the presence of aliens in Elizabethan England* (London/New York, 1996); S. Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen's Royal Entry Circa 1553, "The Interlude of Wealth and Health", and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I', *ELH*, 76:1 (2009), pp.99-129.

[95] B. Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts: Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Dover, NH, 1994); L E. Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge, 2009); C. Lowenthal, 'Performing Nations on the Restoration Stage: Wycherley's Gentleman Dancing-Master' in J. Munns; R. Richards (eds.) *The Clothes that Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in the Eighteenth Century Culture* (Newark, 1999), pp.37-55; Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard"', pp.191-216; Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes', pp.255-268; E. H. Gombrich; E. Kris, *Caricature* (Middlesex, 1940); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/New York, 2006); M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832* (London, 1986); Dures, *English Catholicism*; J. Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past & Present*, 21 (1962), pp.39-59; M. B. Rowlands (ed.), *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558-1778* (London, 1999)

demonstrate how anti-Spanish pamphleteers exploited visual and textual representations of Spanish clothing so as to foster a negative cultural stereotype of Spain.

Methodology and Sources

My methodological approach in this thesis is interdisciplinary, encompassing art, cultural, social and economic historical frameworks, and theories of self-fashioning, performance and the 'material culture of fashion', as outlined above in relation to the sources that comprise my Historiography. Understanding why the English elite wore Spanish fashions, how these foreign clothes and textiles were implicated in their self-fashioning agendas and what such acts of self-fashioning signified in terms of their attitudes to Spain, requires applying these diverse methodological frameworks to a broad spectrum of qualitative and quantitative data obtained from both archival- and object-based research. This thesis considers both macro and micro histories of Anglo-Spanish relations in the mid- to late-sixteenth century by examining both the broader nature of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic affairs and the English elite response to Spain, via the individual's consumption of Spanish dress and textiles, and self-fashioning practices.

On a macro scale, the types of primary sources used to piece together the Anglo-Spanish relationship in this thesis are largely commercial and political documents. Port Books, Particulars Accounts and Customs Books of Rates offer quantitative and qualitative detail regarding the volume and types of Spanish wares being traded into England and the customs levied on such products.[96] In surveying the Bristol and London Port Books and Particulars Accounts for the years 1553 through to 1603, I have assessed which items of Spanish clothing, textile pieces, embroidery and haberdashery (ribbons, points, buttons, etc.) were most popularly traded into England for elite consumption. I have also analysed State Papers from the period which describe shipwrecks containing Spanish cargo and court cases detailing smuggled Spanish goods. Using the Customs of Books of Rates for the years 1507, 1558 and 1582 (see Appendix B), along with Spanish-language dictionaries, I have amassed quantitative and qualitative data regarding specific Spanish goods – leathers, wools, textiles – and analysed

[96] The Port Books record the ships and their cargoes to have entered or left English ports in each given year of trade. They list the ship's name, master, tonnage, port of destination or origin and date. They also comprise an inventory of the cargo and the custom levied on each commodity. Whilst the number of extant port books is substantive; their quality and completeness is often inconsistent: certain years and data are sometimes omitted and smuggled or looted goods are not accounted for.

both the pricing and terminology applied to Spanish wares (as well as any changes in tax rates over time) to consider how English consumers placed value upon these foreign goods.

As well as examining the types of Spanish 'things' to enter the English marketplace, this thesis marks the first scholarly attempt to calculate the total number of Spaniards living in London during the years 1567-1585 (as summarised in Appendix C). Working from the London Aliens Returns from 1567-1568, 1571, 1582-1583, and 1585 I have transcribed all entries for Spaniards, their place of residence and their occupation. This approach binds both social and economic historical methodologies, paying close attention to both the volume of Spaniards present as well as the ways in which they were described.[97] The Returns prove valuable insofar as they capture a considerable breadth of professions held by Spaniards living in the city, enabling us to paint a social picture of early modern London and to bring to light the nature of Anglo-Spanish commercial interactions on home soil. Patent Rolls, another primary source frequently referenced in this thesis, offer a further layer to this study of Spanish craftsmen and wares by illustrating the types of royal licenses and monopolies which were regularly granted by the English Crown to allow Spaniards, and later Englishmen, to make Spanish textiles and fashions. Together with State Papers, I have used these Patent Rolls to trace a quasi-continuous manufacture of Spanish leathers in England throughout Elizabeth's reign, thereby demonstrating that Spanish goods were in demand even when Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations had soured.

Other legal sources which speak less of the interactions between English and Spanish merchants and nobles, and more of the consumer's tastes in, and interactions with Spanish fashions are sumptuary legislations on dyes, textiles and clothing. From a group of over 75 legislations, I have handpicked sixteen *prématicas* which exemplified the legal dictates behind constructing and wearing Spanish dress, and illustrated the desirability of certain dyestuffs and the cachet of the garments they coloured. These legislations are useful for the study of self-fashioning practices precisely because they served as a form of social and sartorial codification with which the Crown could control the individual's outward appearances according to their social station and profession. The repeated re-publication of certain legislations over several

[97] The Returns listed all 'strangers' residing or trading in England and, like the Port Books, are not without their flaws: as documents which would have been hurriedly compiled at the doors of strangers, they are often inconsistent, covering different wards and suburbs over different years, and sometimes misspelling or occluding names and occupations altogether.

years, however, demonstrates the difficulties the Crown faced in enforcing such sartorial codes. They also illustrate which consumers and items of clothing were 'repeat offenders': garments that were considered highly desirable were repeatedly worn 'against the law'.

Whilst these sources tell us about state of play of Anglo-Spanish relations on a much larger, institutionalised level, manuscript sources such as letters, diaries, eye-witness accounts, household inventories, day books, gift rolls and wardrobe warrants, which all document instances of Spanish dress being worn in England, speak more loudly of the individual's personal, day-to-day experiences with foreign fashions. The methodological framework applied to these types of documents errs away from the economic history outlined above to follow in the footsteps of social and cultural historians, Vincent and Hayward, and Rublack who maintains that qualitative sources such as letters, reveal 'how goods were socially embedded and what they meant to people at specific points in their lives'.[98] Indeed, the significance of such clothing in the daily lives of their sixteenth-century wearers is testified in the regularity with which they appear in such sources. Personal letters and diaries abound with anecdotes detailing individuals' urgency to purchase new gowns, breeches and doublets; to order new and brilliant textiles; and to rival, or equal the dress of their peers.[99] The importance of clothing and public appearances is exemplified too in the ways in which elite individuals became invested, both financially and emotionally, in their wardrobes: as well as writing letters to one another detailing their clothes, they also recycled their garments, handing them down to devoted servants and children in their wills, and they took care to select clothing for their portraits, often resorting to hiring more illustrious garb so as to present a better image of themselves.[100]

[98] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp.211-213.

[99] The Lisle Papers, a series of letters exchanged between the Lisle family and their courtiers from 1533 to 1540, illustrate this elite preoccupation with dress and self-fashioning, and its use as a gateway into the royal court. In 1537, Queen Jane Seymour requested to meet Lady Lisle's two daughters and, provided they received adequate training and 'looked the part', enter them into the royal household. In a letter to Lady Lisle, the London merchant John Husee reported that, 'her Grace will see them [the daughters] and know their manners, fashions and conditions, and take which of them shall like her Grace best…ij honest changes they must have, the one of satin, the other of damask. And at their coming the one shall be in my Lady of Rutland's chamber and the other in my Lady Sussex's chamber; and once known which the Queen will have, the other to be with the Duchess of Suffolk, and then to be apparelled according to their degrees'. Lady Lisle's daughters, as this letter explains, were believed to be fabricated into courtly women through the use of satin and damask. Young men were also believed to 'come of age' upon entering the court; the Papers describe generous bequests made to courtiers' sons, in the form of textiles and clothing, that illustrate how procuring material wealth was seen as an important means of securing and improving social rank. See: TNA SP 3, Lisle Papers, 1533-1540, Vol. IV: 'Letter 887, 17 July 1537', f.151r.

[100] Vincent finds that dress, 'was fundamental to the making and managing of the social self'. Indeed, the diarist Samuel Pepys famously hired a gown for his painting by John Hayls so as to fabricate a certain self-image: 'so to

Given the significance of such documents to our understanding of how individuals valued, interpreted and used their clothing, I rely upon extant correspondences and eye-witness accounts where they survive, and wardrobe warrants, household accounts and inventories more broadly in this thesis. The latter (warrants, accounts and inventories) have been selected specifically in relation to the key players they are associated with – Mary and Elizabeth – whose Royal Wardrobe Warrants, and Gift Rolls (spanning just Elizabeth's reign), I have surveyed and part-transcribed. These manuscript sources detail all items of Spanish clothing to have entered or left their wardrobes. They are given centrality in my third chapter simply because Mary and Elizabeth's interactions with Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century would have been most politically significant, and also because their sartorial influence would have been widely felt at court. The methodological underpinnings of my analysis here are grounded in theories of self-fashioning, as outlined above: I read these inventories with an eye to the wider social, cultural and political implications that such clothing purchases may have had for the two queens: What public image did the two queens attempt to project when buying and wearing Spanish fashions? Did they purchase Spanish dress at key political moments when Anglo-Spanish relations were particularly strong or weak? And, were their decisions to don Spanish garb deliberate, and intended to communicate their attitudes towards Spain, or were they simply wearing Spanish dress because it was desirable?

I also examine the household accounts, wills and inventories of selected English noble families, which tell us exactly how much Spanish dress was purchased and when. Again, my methodological approach is similar to that applied to the royal wardrobes insofar as I examine the purchases of Spanish clothing in line with concepts of self-fashioning; however, the questions I ask differ in part. I analyse the points of purchase (i.e. did they line up with these 'key political moments'?), but I also question whether the act of wearing Spanish fashions connoted Hispanophilia, 'pseudo-Hispanophilia' (a disingenuous love of Spain enacted to gain political and financial favour with the Spanish entourage at court), or pro-Catholicism. To date, with the exception of Croft and Wedge's research, there have been no scholarly studies into the appearance of Spanish dress in the noble wardrobe at this time. The figures I centre my case studies around – Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester), Walter Devereux (Earl of Essex), the

Hales's and there sat till almost quite dark upon working my gowne, which I hired to be drawn [in] it – an Indian gown, and I do see all the reason to expect a most excellent picture of it'. See: S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, R. Latham; W. Matthews (eds.), Vol.VII (London, 1970-83), Entry: 30 March 1666; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.79; 97.

FitzAlan-Howard Families (Earls of Arundel) – were not chosen at random, but rather selected for their 'Spanish link' (all three men/family groups were involved with the Spanish entourage at court, or believed to have exhibited 'Hispanophilic' tendencies) as well as the general continuity and comprehensiveness of their household accounts. Whilst these sources display the nature of Anglo-Spanish interactions on a more micro scale, they enable us to see how Spanish garb was wielded in English self-fashioning programmes on a case by case basis. Robert Dudley's reasons for dressing the Spanish way are, as this thesis outlines, quite different from Elizabeth I's sartorial motives and therefore must be treated as a separate study. Other inventories and noble figures make an appearance in this thesis too by way of illustrating the types of Spanish textiles and fashion that could either be purchased on the continent – such as Juan Alfonso Pimental de Herrera V (Count-Duke of Benavente) and Brianda Sarmiento de la Cerda (Duchess of Bejar)'s inventories in Chapter One, and Thomas Chaloner's inventory in Chapter Two – or brought over to England, and made visible in the urban realm, by visiting Spaniards (such as the inventory of an anonymous Spaniard in Chapter Two). I have translated and transcribed these Spanish-language manuscript sources into English and included a select few in Appendices D-E.

Given the public dimension of Renaissance acts of self-fashioning (Whigham, as discussed above, argues that the individual's fashioned identity was only reified when performed before a public audience, i.e. his peers) theories of self-fashioning must be applied in tandem with performance theory. The methodological approaches of performance theorists and court historians, Elias, Goffman, Turner, Whigham and Adamson provide a further, useful layer of analysis when considering how such self-fashioning practices may have played out in the public eye.[101] Alongside inventories, eye-witness accounts and festival books are vitally important primary source documents as they reveal the types of social, cultural and religious engagements – i.e. symbolic and performative acts such as processions, coronations, marriages, funerals and day-to-day household rituals – in which the English elite wore Spanish clothing publically. I apply performance theory to in my analysis of these documents to illustrate how they reveal not only the ways in which the elite wearer *intended* his or her public image to be

[101] Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self*; Elias, *The Court Society*; Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court: Courtesy and the Performance-Audience Dialectic'; Adamson, *Princely Courts*; V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors.*

displayed, but also how the onlooker perceived and interpreted these visual and material displays.

As many of these books and accounts reveal, records of such visual and material displays are often related to the upper classes. The focus upon the English elite in this thesis, therefore, is governed by both a theoretical interest in self-fashioning and its implications within the English royal court, and by practical necessity and historical accuracy. Simply put, more archival material survives for the elite classes and thus makes for a more cohesive and comprehensive survey of a particular group's consumption habits; but, also importantly, it is worth noting that the types of Spanish clothes and textiles that were imported into England, or manufactured within the realm, were extremely high-quality and expensive items fit only for a wealthy buyer. Furthermore, the centrality of ceremony, ritual and etiquette to the court, and the social world of the aristocracy and nobility discussed above, meant that dress codes and specific items of clothing were often imbued with a great symbolic significance and, thus, their role in the day-to-day lives of their wearers, had a much larger and visible impact upon their self-fashioning agendas than that of the non-elite. My approach here is therefore in keeping with Vincent's theory that, whilst clothing was still significant to the lower-middle and working classes, 'As a cultural production of the privileged […] apparel had a declared centrality to the realization of power, wealth, status and gender. As such, elite dress was guaranteed a cultural visibility'.[102]

Unsurprisingly, the practice of delving into the wardrobes of England's elite classes, via their personal household accounts and warrants, yields a number of sartorial discoveries which merit further investigation through the lens of contemporary portraiture, pattern and costume books, and extant garments. Whilst the study of inventories delivers unrivalled insight into an individual's yearly, or even monthly and daily expenditure on material goods, these types of sources are, essentially, just lists of objects. When read alone they do little to paint a picture of what the wearer may have truly looked like or, indeed, how others may have perceived his or her public image. This insight comes from eye-witness accounts and festival books mentioned above, but it can also be seen in the portraits of the Spanish and English elite who self-consciously craft their public image, and identity, through carefully-selected clothing, headwear and props – oftentimes in the Spanish style, as exemplified in the cases examined

[102] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.5-6.

herein. Studying historic costume therefore necessitates the use of varied and often ancillary sources to weave together a fuller picture of how Spanish fashions may have actually appeared in real life. In this thesis, I rely on pattern books, such as the Spanish tailor Juan de Alcega's *Geometria, Traca y Practica* (1589), to analyse how sixteenth-century Spanish garments were constructed; costume books, to examine how the early modern elite perceived the clothing styles of local and far-flung corners of the globe; and portraiture and prints, as mentioned above, and extant garments and textiles, where they survive, to analyse the materiality of historic clothing.[103]

Whilst these sources detail what the garments might have looked like, or how they were constructed, they do not necessarily reveal how people felt about their clothing or how they perceived foreign Spanish garb. Methodologically, therefore, my treatment of these wide-reaching sources falls in line with Riello's 'material culture of fashion' by considering how Spanish garb took on meaning for English consumers.[104] Examining how such garments might assume meaning can be traced through other visual, material and literary responses to Spanish dress. In Chapter One, I examine eight Spanish patents of nobility, otherwise known as *Cartas Ejecutorias de Hildalguía*, which have hitherto never been fully studied from an art historical perspective. Combining text with icon images of the Virgin Mary and portraits of noble families, these *cartas* offer rich insight into how individuals used clothing to self-fashion a noble identity for themselves and employed visual depictions of dress so as to publically verify their elite status. Not all representations of Spanish dress were quite so positive, however. In contrast to the body of portraits, prints and *cartas* examined in Chapters One to Four, which showcase Spanish fashions as desirable garb, in the Epilogue I consider over forty English satirical and anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic prints, prayers, pamphlets and broadsides that take the stock image of 'The Spaniard' to ridicule his clothes, character, faith and ethnicity. These sources mark the emergence of the Black Legend of Spain and the cultural stereotype of Spaniards as excessively proud, cruel, and lazy. Together with morality tracts, conduct

[103] The work of Arnold too, whose painstaking reconstruction of historic costumes has culminated in her *Patterns for Fashion* series, offers a valuable window onto traditional tailoring practices with details on authentic fabric yardage, patterns, stitching methods and adornment. Whilst I do not emulate her methodological approach *per se* (Arnold privileges object-focussed research grounded in meticulous first-hand reconstruction), this project has seen me attempt some of these construction techniques along the way, although they have not been formally integrated into this thesis. My own attempts to master pattern-cutting, ruff-making and starching, and historic embroidery have encouraged me to question more broadly the practicalities of wearing such Spanish fashions: how did individual clothing components fit together; what was the significance of wearing so many layers of clothing; and how did elite men or women walk, talk and sit when laced into these sartorial contraptions?
[104] Riello, 'The object of fashion', p.6.

literature, poetry and drama, these sources provide a more generalised survey of the social landscape, voicing common and popular attitudes towards to dress and the fashioned body. They often expose the stereotyped or caricatured portrayals of dressed individuals which, by and large, fuelled negative perceptions of dress practices and apparel. Overall, the abundance of primary sources relating to dress from this period – whether positive or negative – reveals to us the prevalence and visibility of clothing and sartorial culture in the lives of their wearers: for the English and Spanish elite, fashion mattered.

Thesis Structure

This thesis develops chronologically and thematically, and, to some extent, geographically. It begins with a close examination of Spanish fashions in the Iberian Peninsula, before relocating to England to analyse the consumption of Spanish textiles and fashions amongst the English elite classes from the mid- to late-sixteenth century and, to a lesser degree, the seventeenth century. It also follows the changing tides of Anglo-Spanish relations more generally over the course of half a century, mapping specific sartorial moments onto larger cultural, social and political events. The Anglo-Spanish Chronology and Genealogy on pages xxii-xxiv offer an overview of the key figures and dates frequently referenced throughout this thesis.

Chapter one, 'The Spanish Model: Fashioning the Courtier and his Wardrobe', addresses the performative nature of Spanish elite identity by exploring the ways in which the Spanish aristocracy and nobility used clothing and comportment to self-fashion themselves as 'ideal Spanish courtiers'. This chapter is concerned with the notion of fabrication – both literal and figurative – and answers the question: What were the makings of the elite Spaniard? It first considers the role played by sumptuary legislation, conduct literature and court ceremonials in fabricating an elite Spanish identity that was founded upon the Catholic ideology of *pureza de sangre* (purity of blood); the moral incline towards sobriety and gravity; and the imperial ambition of worldliness. As mentioned, it offers an original examination of a series of manuscript sources, the *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía*, which provide valuable evidence of how pictorial representations of dress could be used to verify, and reify, the Spanish nobleman's identity. Secondly, this chapter explicates what the 'Spanish Model' of dressing was by using portraiture and extant inventories to explore the key components of male and female elite dress. Appendix A offers an illustrated glossary of Spanish textiles and dye

terminology to accompany this discussion. This chapter raises the curtain on the international nature of the so-called 'Spanish style' by illustrating how Spain's imperial endeavours in the New World led to the development of a burgeoning trans-Atlantic and -Pacific textiles and dye trade which, in turn, contributed to the making of the 'Spanish Model'. It argues that Spanish fashions and, by extension their Spanish wearers, connoted 'worldliness'.

As laid out in Chapter One, the 'Spanish Model' bore associations of worldliness through means of its very construction, but also because of its usage: it was disseminated and worn practically worldwide. In Chapter Two, 'Disseminating the Spanish Model: Anglo-Spanish Trade Relations', this Spanish textile and fashion diaspora is examined in relation to the trade and consumption of Spanish dress in Tudor England. Specifically, this chapter deals with the lucrative trade of luxury Spanish goods into England during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, paying close attention to two wares in particular: Spanish Cordoban leather and Merino wool. On a macro level, it examines how this cross-cultural material exchange, initially forged during times of strong Anglo-Spanish amity, bore the strain of diplomatic disputes, naval warfare and trade embargoes over the course of 50 years. It debunks the myth of total Anglo-Spanish rivalry to prove that commercial relations between the two nations often prospered despite political tensions. On a micro level, it determines how the mercantile infrastructure functioned in the port cities of Bristol and London and identifies which Spanish merchants and craftsmen were trading and residing in England. A full list of these Spaniards can be found in Appendix C. This chapter also asks pertinent questions about how these Spanish wares were purchased, worn and talked about by their English consumers and offers original insight into the ways in which the English elite may have placed value upon their foreign luxury goods. Two original transcriptions and translations of Spanish-language inventories, which illustrate the types of Spanish fashions worn by Englishmen, or brought over to England by Spanish nobility can be found in Appendices D-E.

Determining why the English elite chose to purchase the dress of their later political and religious rival, and understanding what they thought of their Spanish garb and their newly 'Hispanicised' appearances, is challenging. Chapters Three and Four, '*La Española inglesa*, or the Spanish Englishwoman: Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I' and 'Approximating Spain: Spanish Fashions and Hispanophilia in Tudor England', tackle these questions by examining the household accounts, inventories and portraiture of the English elite to establish when and why Spanish garments were consumed. Chapter Three focusses on the dress habits of Mary and

Elizabeth, and provides an original examination of their warrants and inventories from the Royal Wardrobe to reveal the existence of a greater quantity of Spanish dress than previously acknowledged by scholars. Transcriptions of their Spanish gifts and purchases are in Appendix F. This chapter explores how the half-sisters wielded Spanish fashions in politicised acts of self-fashioning that were intended to symbolise England's relationship to Spain. Mary, as a new bride of the future King of Spain, 'Hispanicised' herself so as to be perceived a loyal daughter, wife and mother of Spain. Elizabeth, by contrast, wore Spanish dress in an act of nationalistic pride to laud England's naval 'victories' over Spain. Their gifts of Spanish clothes to hand-picked courtiers reflect how they sought to disseminate their political messages. Chapter Four addresses the twin phenomenon of Hispanophilia and what I term 'pseudo-Hispanophilia' – understood here as an insincere love of Spain, exhibited by the individual for personal and political gain – amongst the English nobility and members of the political Spanish Faction. These individuals displayed ostensibly pro-Spanish sentiments, wore Spanish fashions, and affiliated themselves with Spaniards at the English court.

The Epilogue, 'Fabricating the Black Legend: Spanish Clothing and its Comedic Strategies', examines how the reception of Spain and Spanish fashions in England and Europe darkened as diplomatic relations soured in the 1580s. It deals with the rise in Hispanophobia and the emergence of the Black Legend at a time when Protestant nations perceived Spain as both a Catholic and imperial threat. This section considers how Hispanophobia, as peddled by Protestant propagandists, was manifested in text via vitriolic pamphlets and broadsheets; in visual culture, by means of anti-Spanish prints and paintings which caricatured the Spaniard; and in theatrical performances, through acts of cross-cultural dressing. This epilogue charts the fashionable Spaniard's fall from grace in the eyes of his English and European neighbours. Significantly, it illustrates how the cultural stereotype of 'the Spaniard' was born of these negative representations and how the 'Spanish Model' of dressing, once a beacon of worldliness and luxury, became synonymous with pride, absurdity and cruelty. It is Spain's early great 'heights' of sartorial sophistication, however, that I shall now turn to discuss in Chapter One.

CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH MODEL: FASHIONING THE COURTIER AND HIS WARDROBE

'I should like the clothes our courtier wears to reflect the sobriety characteristic of the Spaniards, since external appearances often bear witness to what is within'.[1] So concludes Federico Fregoso's monologue on courtly dress in Castiglione's conduct manual, *Il Cortegiano* (1528). In this text, which exalts the use of black clothing and cites the Spanish courtier as the epitome of sartorial sophistication and moral comportment, Fregoso's image of the black-clad Spaniard resonates with later visual and textual descriptions of Philip II's Spanish court. Fregoso exclaims how he is, 'always pleased when clothes tend to be sober and restrained', maintaining that 'the most agreeable colour is black, and if not black, then at least something fairly dark', and urging the aspiring courtier to 'decide for himself what appearance he wants to have and what sort of man he wants to seem, and then dress accordingly, so that his clothes help him to be taken for such, even by those who do not hear him speak or see him perform anything at all'.[2] Castiglione touches upon four pertinent beliefs relating to sixteenth-century Spanish dress practices which this chapter also broaches: firstly, that outward appearances were indexical to the individual's identity; secondly, that the act of dressing was an inherently ritualistic task in which clothing was believed to carry meaning and the wearer was able to 'perform' his identity; thirdly, that the Spanish courtier was perceived as representing the apex of court society; and fourthly, that elite Spaniards only wore black. These beliefs will be probed in this chapter to reveal a rich, and often colourful, tapestry of material wealth that was consumed at Philip's court and that enabled the Spanish elite to self-fashion a noble identity.

[1] B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Middlesex, 1981), p.135.
[2] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.136.

Visual sources such as Alonso Sánchez Coello's portrait, *The Royal Feast* (fig.3) too provide a lens onto court life during Philip's reign and illustrate how a cornucopia of foreign and domestic textiles and luxury goods – in the form of wall-hangings, leather-backed chairs, velvet doublets and feathered hats, ruffs, silver plates and crystal glassware – was woven into the seams of Spanish aulic life. Coello's little-studied portrait serves as a painterly testimony to Spain's leading role as the epicentre of sartorial supremacy during the mid- to late-sixteenth century.[3] For nearly fifty years, Philip II (fig.4) served as the monarch to the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish Netherlands, Spanish Italy, and the New World.[4] The Spanish court, also termed the Castilian court, was governed initially from Toledo and later, after 1561, from the administrative centre and capital of Madrid.[5] It became known as the beacon of the Spanish Counter-Reformation, a place where strict Burgundian ceremonial was married with Castilian rituals, and sober comportment and religious asceticism were employed by king and courtier alike.[6] Under the earlier auspice of the Catholic Monarchs and the Holy Roman Emperor,

[3] A. Descalzo, 'Spanish Male Costume in the Habsburg Period', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), p.17.

[4] According to one manuscript source, Philip's official title was as follows: 'Don Phelippe…Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de los dos Sicilias, de Hierusallera, de Portugal, de Hauarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdena, de Cordova, de Corcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarues, de Algelira, de Gibralter, de las Islas de Canarias, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano: Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgona, de Brabante y Milan: Conde de Abspurg, de Flandes y de Tirol: y de Barcelona, Señor de Vizcaya y de Molina'. See: BL Add MS 28361, 1579-1588: 'Papers relating to the ceremonies of the palace, grandees, titles, precedence, etc, with letters from the King, Mateo Vasquez, the Duke of Alva and others', f.140r.

[5] The Spanish state was created in 1469 following the unification of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand. Whilst both kingdoms remained separate countries until the early 1700s, they were ruled by one monarch during the Habsburg dynasty. During his reign, Philip II centralized all imperial administration in Castile, making it the locus of the Spanish Empire. See: F. Checa; G. Redworth, 'The Kingdoms of Spain: The Courts of the Spanish Habsburgs 1500-1700', in J. Adamson (ed.) *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 1999), p.44.

[6] Checa; Redworth, 'Kingdoms of Spain', pp.47-50. Scholarly contributions to the historiography of Philip II have been made, most significantly, in the form of biographies by John Huxtable Elliott, Henry Kamen and Geoffrey Parker who have dedicated a life-time of research to the prudent king, his political endeavours and his religious devotion. These texts provide valuable reference material for a foundational knowledge of Philip's reign, and his self-fashioning as a Catholic monarch; however, they consider Philippian sources from a political angle, paying little heed to the role of Philip's art collections and sartorial consumption in his self-fashioning. Major art historical research into Spain's *Siglo de Oro* has, however, been offered in spades by Jonathan Brown whose seminal texts provide precious insight into the art patronage and portraiture of Spain, and even Spanish America, from 1500 to 1800. See: J. Brown, *In the Shadow of Velázquez: A Life in Art History* (New Haven, 2014); J. Brown, *Painting in Spain, 1500-1700* (New Haven, 1999); J. Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in 17th Century Europe* (New Haven, 1995); J. H. Elliott; J. Brown, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 2003); J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1469-1716* (London, 2002); J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven, 1990); H. Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London, 2010); H. Kamen, *Cambio cultural en la sociedad del Siglo de Oro: Cataluña y Castilla, XVI-XVII* (Madrid, 1998); H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, 1997); G. Parker, *The Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven/London, 2014); G. Parker, *Philip II*, 4th edn. (Illinois, 2002).

Charles V, the Spanish Empire had also become a central player in the international trade of luxury goods and raw materials between Europe, Asia and America.[7]

Spain's vast imperial dominion saw the nation quickly develop as a front-runner for desirable clothing. It became popular practice amongst Europe's elite to 'dress the Spanish way' (*vestir a la española*), with Spanish fashions gaining particular currency amongst English consumers who were eager to emulate their Spanish peers.[8] Whilst the chapters that follow examine the dissemination and reception of Spanish fashions in England and the nature of Anglo-Spanish relations at large, this chapter focusses on the 'roots' of the Spanish model, examining how it came into fruition and how it was manufactured and used by Spanish consumers. As extant portraiture and costumes pertaining to the Spanish court reveal, the 'Spanish silhouette' comprised a distinctive ensemble of tight hose and doublet, conical farthingale, and wide ruff, crafted from silk textiles, perfumed leathers and American colorants, and fit for the noble Spanish courtier. By paying close attention to the concept of 'making', and its associated connotations of constructing and crafting in this chapter, I argue that the Spanish elite used their clothing to fashion an image for themselves which highlighted both their role as global trendsetters and imperial leaders. Indeed, at the Spanish court, like in other neighbouring courts, garments carried a semiotic weight, playing a vital role in the social construction of identity. The 'Spanish silhouette', in particular, was perceived as the physical embodiment of the kind of morals and restrained comportment apposite to the ideal Spanish

[7] Spain's role in the global trade of luxury goods has largely been explored in terms of its economic impact upon Spanish bullion or the cross-cultural exchange of Asian and American visual and material culture in the Spanish viceroyalties. Scholarship has yet to fully examine the Asian and American textiles and dyestuffs which entered the Spanish court during Philip's reign. See: E. Phipps, 'Global Colours: Dyes and Dye Trade', in A. Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (London, 2013), p.122; *El galeón de Manila*, Hospicio de los Venerables Sacerdotes; Museo Franz Mayer; Museo Histórico de Acapulco; Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla (eds.) (Spain, 2000), p.176; I. M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world-economy, 1600-1750 (Studies in Social Discontinuity)* (San Francisco, 2011); J. M. Headley, 'Spain's Asian Presence, 1565-1590: Structures and Aspirations', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 75:4 (1995), pp.623-646.; W. Barrett, 'World Bullion Flows, 1450-1800' in James D. Tracy (ed.) *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.224-254; E. J. Hamilton, 'The Role of Monopoly in the Overseas Expansion and Colonial Trade of Europe Before 1800', *The American Economic Review*, 38:2 (1948), pp.33-53; D. Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', in D. Pierce; R. Otsuka (eds.) *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America and Early Global Trade* (Denver, 2012), pp.11-40; A. S. Fisher, 'Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain' in D. Pierce; O.Y. Ronald (eds.) *Asia and Spanish America: trans-Pacific artistic and cultural exchange, 1500-1850: papers from the 2006 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* (Colorado, 2009), pp.175-189.

[8] Descalzo, 'Spanish Male Costume', p.15.

courtier. However, as I argue, for most of the sixteenth century, it also symbolised Spain's far-reaching global dominion and lucrative textile and dye trade in the Americas.[9]

Despite their wide acclaim early on, when conflict peaked between Spain and her neighbouring countries in the 1580s, the Spanish wardrobe and the Spaniard were quickly targeted by anti-Spanish propagandists. Individuals who once coveted these foreign fashions, came to view the Spanish style as a material manifestation of the religious asceticism (ergo 'papacy') practiced at Philip's court. Spanish fashions were ridiculed by English consumers and Black Legend authors for being cumbersome in form and morose in colour. In this chapter I unpick these threads of Hispanophobia, which have coloured our later historical understanding of Spain and Spanish fashions, to reveal the true makings of the Spanish wardrobe as being guided by both Spanish imperial endeavours in the New World and an interest in sobriety. Specifically, I demonstrate that whilst 'dressing the Spanish way' may be perceived as following a distinctly 'Iberian' trend, the Spanish wardrobe was not solely Mediterranean in its making. It owed its fruition to the vast trans-Atlantic and -Pacific trade in luxury textiles and dyes that was rooted in the viceroyalties of New Spain in Peru and Manila in the Philippines. The popularity of the Spanish silhouette amongst European consumers, I argue, resulted from its associations of worldliness and luxury.

Whilst a significant portion of this chapter focusses on the making of the 'Spanish silhouette', I begin by analysing what 'made' the Spanish elite classes. I question how, and through what mean, the Spanish aristocracy and nobility used their wardrobes, behaviours and ceremonials to self-fashion and conceive of themselves as 'ideal courtiers' and imperial leaders. This chapter is therefore concerned with the notion of performativity: it considers how the Spanish elite used clothing to 'perform' the role of ideal courtiers. By examining a number of primary sources relating to contemporary dress practises, such as sumptuary legislations, etiquette books and *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía* (Spanish patents of nobility), this chapter first analyses the role that Spanish textiles and clothing played in sartorially constructing and prescribing the public image and elite identity of Spain's upper classes. Using pattern books and illustrations from costume books, this chapter further analyses the makers employed in creating the 'Spanish silhouette' and considers a number of pragmatics and inventories which

[9] H. Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court', in G. Riello; P. McNeil (eds.) *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (London, 2010), p.170.

reveal how different materials, such as natural dyes and textiles, were used to craft the fashionable Spanish wardrobe and the self-fashioned Spanish body.

Fashioning a Spanish Identity

To begin any study of historic clothing and sartorial customs, we require a preliminary understanding of the purpose of dress, both broadly speaking and within its given setting. As Vincent explains, 'far from being merely an index of utility, clothing has immense symbolic importance. It gives form to a society's ideas about the sacred and secular, about exclusion and inclusion, about age, beauty, sexuality, and status'.[10] As Barthes has also theorised, throughout history there has been a 'language of fashion' in which garments served as 'sign-vehicles' in acts of self-fashioning to communicate the wearer's class, age, gender, race, profession, religion and political leaning.[11] Historically, clothing has been used to connote ideologies and alliances, to delineate the enslaved from the free, the 'mad' from the sane, and the privileged from the poor. Clothing has even acted as a site for, or mask of transgression, and as a means of pushing a particular political, religious, social or cultural agenda at court and beyond.[12] It is worth recognising also the linguistic nuances which differentiate our modern-day 'language of fashion' from earlier, sixteenth-century sartorial practices. As Riello has found, an increased awareness of the human identity as something which was tangible and easily fabricated through comportment and dress, meant that the terms 'fashion' or 'à la mode' came to be conceptualised in Renaissance Europe as assuming three distinct definitions: 'fashion' could be classed as a socially-accepted behavioural act (to fashion one's identity); a national phenomenon (to dress in the fashionable Spanish style); and a popular and desirable trend in clothing (the fashion of the day).[13] This thesis is concerned with all three strands of the definition: English and Spanish acts of self-fashioning; the Spanish style of clothing or 'fashion'; and the fashion for 'dressing the Spanish way'.

Greenblatt's theory of self-fashioning, outlined in my Introduction, is grounded in both fictional and real examples. In some of his more noteworthy plays, for example, William

[10] S. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (New York/Oxford, 2003), p.2.
[11] R. Barthes, *The Language of Fashion* (New York/Oxford, 2006), p.28; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.79; P. Stallybrass; A. R. Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), p.2; J. Finkelstein, *The Fashioned Self* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.150-151.
[12] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.3-5.
[13] G. Riello; P. McNeil, 'Fashion and Social Order: The early modern world' in G. Riello; P. McNeil (eds.) *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (London, 2010), p.85.

Shakespeare famously recognises the importance of investiture as the maker of men: in *Henry IV* (1597), Hal describes 'majesty' and kingship as being a 'new and gorgeous garment' and in *Hamlet* (c.1603), Polonius, acknowledges how, 'Costly as thy habit as thy purse can buy, / But not express'd in fancy; / rich, not gaudy; / For the apparel oft proclaims the man'.[14] In sixteenth-century Europe, real acts of self-fashioning were visible everywhere too: from Elizabeth's self-appellation as the 'princely Queen' to the Duke of Alba's self-conscious styling as a tyrannical favourite to the Spanish monarch – clothing and comportment truly did make the man.[15] Within the Spanish context, clothing took on an equally symbolic significance and was often linked to hierarchical notions of class, gender and race. In the Spanish viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, for instance, specific garments and textiles were assigned to men and women of Spanish, Mulatto, Creole or Indian descent. 'Passing' for another ethnicity by dressing in different clothing was believed to enable the wearer to secure different, and often better social privileges, and was practised regularly by members of the lower classes who donned fine silks and jewels imported from Spain or Asia.[16]

Clothing declared 'who' the individual was, therefore, and this sartorial codification was nearly always prescribed by the social elite. According to Barthes, when studying elite or royal apparel, dress historians, 'fascinated as most of them are by the chronological prestige of a particular reign', fall victim to viewing the monarch as being 'magically affected by a charismatic function: he is considered by essence, as *the* wearer of clothes'.[17] Within the context of the royal court, however, this often was the case: it was the monarch who set the standard for courtly garb, enforcing a hierarchical sartorial code that both courtiers and foreign visitors were obliged to follow.[18] Outside of the court too, and well into the eighteenth century, sumptuary legislations were regularly imposed by the Spanish Crown – albeit with little effect – which declared which items of clothing and textiles could be worn by members of each social

[14] In *As You Like It* (1603), too, the artificial and performative nature of man's identity, as something which can be worn and removed like an item of clothing, is highlighted in Jacques' famous monologue where he describes how, 'All the world's a stage, / And all the men and women merely players. / They have their exits and their entrances, / And one man in his time plays many parts'. See: W. Shakespeare, (1603) *As You Like It*, B. A. Mowat; P. Werstine (eds.) (New York, 1997), Act 2, Scene 7, Lines 146-149; W. Shakespeare, (1603) *Hamlet* G. R Hibbard (ed.) (Oxford, 1987), Act 1, Scene 3, Lines 70-72; W. Shakespeare, (c.1597), *Henry IV* René Weis (ed.) (Oxford, 1998), Act 5, Scene 2, Line 44; Stallybrass; Jones, *Materials of Memory*, p.2.

[15] J. Spicer, 'The Renaissance Elbow' in J. Bremmer; H. Roodenburg (eds.) *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1991), p.100; M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'The Court of Philip II of Spain', in R. G. Asch; A. M. Birke (eds.) *Princes Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (Oxford, 1991), pp.219-220.

[16] Fisher, 'Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain', p.178.

[17] Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*, p.5.

[18] Descalzo, 'Spanish Male Costume', p.15.

station and profession. Given the semiotic function of clothing, and its ability to communicate meaning, sumptuary legislation can also be considered a form of social and sartorial control.[19] Martin Hume's survey of Spanish sumptuary legislation reveals that, between the years 1552 and 1594, the Crown issued nine laws regarding dress practices and textiles trading in the Iberian Peninsula and the New World.[20] These legislations are telling of contemporary consumption habits in sixteenth-century Spain owing to their often repetitive nature (many laws were reintroduced several years after their initial publication), which suggest that they were not always keenly enforced by the authorities or followed by the populace. Amongst the nine legislations listed by Hume, five concern the use of silver and gold lace and tissue, three concern the size and usage of ruffs and frills, and one concerns the export of Spanish textiles to the Spanish viceroyalties in the New World.[21] These laws were largely intended to stifle the excessive expenditure of the general populace, including the nobility, and to lower the inflation upon domestic textiles and clothing products.

By telling us what items of clothing or textiles were banned, these legislations also inadvertently reveal what garments were most in demand: in 1552, for instance, Charles V prohibited the wearing of 'snippet work' (lace laid over textiles) and gold and silver lace, and dampened the production of certain silks, including satin and velvet. This legislation was reinforced in 1560, with the exception that individuals could wear plain edging or piping around their garments. Three years later, the legislation re-emerged, allowing for greater sartorial liberties amongst consumers and, in 1564, the legislation was republished stating that only gold, silver and silk trimming and stitching, rather than weaving, was prohibited.[22] Given the obscurity of these regulations, and their implied violation, it is unsurprising that in 1568 a final legislation was issued that prohibited the wearing of gold embroidery and tissue

[19] R. Puerta, 'Sumptuary Legislation and Restrictions on Luxury in Dress' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.212-215.

[20] New research by Amanda Wunder on Spain sumptuary legislation in Spain promises to shed further light on the role and impact of these sartorial laws. See her forthcoming essay: A. Wunder, 'Sumptuary Legislation in Spain, 13th-18th Centuries' in G. Riello; U. Rublack (eds.) *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Legislation in a Comparative and Global Perspective (forthcoming)*

[21] M. A. S. Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)' in *Ten Years after the Armada and Other Historical Studies* (London, 1896), pp.224-235.

[22] As Hume outlines, 'They might in future wear sleeves of point lace in gold or silver, gold or silver gauze, or silk shot with gold, and their jackets might be made of similar stuffs, whilst they might deck their coifs, wimples, stomachers, and underlinen with as much gold as they pleased. Gold, silver, or crystal buttons could now be worn, but not on the skirt, and only on the head, bosom, bodice, and sleeves; whilst the hat might be trimmed with gold gimp. Some concessions were made to their spouses as well, for they were permitted to clothe their nether limbs in silk hose, and their trunks might be slashed and trimmed with silk and generally speaking the wearing of silk was greatly extended.' See: Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)', p.229.

altogether, in favour of plainer garb. Hume argues that the Spanish preference for black garb, as popularized by contemporary prints and Black Legend texts, was in fact connected to this later legislation, as well as the deaths of Queen Isabel de Valois and her son in 1568.[23] Whilst it is likely that the nation was encouraged to wear mourning dress during this period, we know from other sources that the trend for Spanish black was inspired by the sartorial practices of the House of Burgundy, discussed later on.[24]

Whilst sumptuary legislation provided a yard-stick against which to measure the clothing choices of the Spanish population, etiquette books became a popular means of educating Spanish courtiers on how to 'dress for success' and behave in public. These books were, generally speaking, geared towards the aspiring courtier who wished to climb the social ladder or maintain his position at court. Etiquette literature was, therefore, a clear example of how early modern dress codes were driven by hierarchical class divides. As Vincent finds in her discussion of early practises of disguise, 'deceit and counterfeit were inherently suspicious, but only in the marginal and socially inferior. For the elite, 'dissimulation' could be an acceptable tool that, wielded skilfully, might help achieve advancement and repute'.[25] Indeed, a number of etiquette books, otherwise known as conduct manuals, were published by Spanish authors during the mid- to late- sixteenth century. These texts prescribed how the Spanish elite might dress and act. Amongst the most popular were Juan Lorenzo Palmireno's *El estudioso de la aldea* (1568) and *El estudioso cortesano* (1573), Alonso de Barros' *Filosofía cortesana moralizada* (1587) and Damasio de Frías' *Diálogo de la discreción* (1579).[26] Italian conduct literature was also translated into Spanish: Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* (1558) was

[23] For a further discussion on the Black Legend of Spain, and the prints and texts that emerged from this anti-Spanish discourse, see the Epilogue. For a discussion on the death of Isabel de Valois, see: Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)', p.231.

[24] In other sumptuary legislations, the famous Spanish ruff, which became the target of anti-Spanish propagandists towards the end of the century (see the Epilogue for a discussion on this, the 'Devil's fashion'), also came under scrutiny from the Crown. In 1586, 1590 and 1594 it was ordered that, 'No man may wear either at his neck or wrists on any sort of ruff or frill, fixed or loose, any trimming, fringe ravelling, or netting, starch, rice, gums, rods, wires, gold or silver threads, or any 'alchemy' or anything else to extend or support them, but only a plain holland or linen ruff with one or two little pleats, on pain of forfeiture of shirt and ruff and a fine of 50 ducats'. By 1594, this fine had dramatically increased: doubling from 20,000 maravedís for a first offence to 40,000 maravedís for a second, and 80,000 maravedís and exile for a third offence. See: Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)', pp.234-35.

[25] Unlike the aforementioned example of ethnic minorities in New Spain and Peru, where dressing in luxurious clothing was punishable and subject to a fine or incarceration; the donning of desirable apparel amongst the *upper* classes was only truly condemned by literary moralists. In many cases, sartorial practices of 'dissimulation' and artifice, which accompanied elite acts of self-fashioning, were often admired by peers. See: Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.166.

[26] J. L. Palmireno, *El estudioso de la aldea* (1568); J. L. Palmireno, *El estudioso cortesano* (1573); A. de Barros, *Filosofía cortesana moralizada* (1587); Damasio de Frías, *Diálogo de la discreción* (1579).

'Hispanicised' by Lucas Gracían Dantisco in his *Galateo español* in 1593, and Castiglione's famous *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) by Juan Boscán in 1534.[27] It was this later translation, Felipe Ruan argues, which 'offer[ed] a prestigious and complete model of the ideal courtier that help[ed] to shape the identity of the Spanish *cortesano*'.[28] Boscán's edition proved so popular amongst the Spanish elite, that it received fourteen reprints between the years 1534 to 1588, and Dantisco's *Galateo español* was also republished five times between 1593-1600 and a further ten times during the seventeenth century.[29]

Spanish etiquette books were rarely stand-alone publications and were often printed alongside more light-hearted literature belonging to the popular picaresque genre.[30] Ruan finds that this self-help genre came into fruition in the sixteenth century by making use of a combination of 'spicy tales ("charcarrillos") familiar to readers of the day; popular proverbs; and, in order to illustrate the art of narrating, a novella whose motifs belong to a popular culture tradition'.[31] Dantisco's *Galateo español*, for instance, which encourages the aspiring courtier to better himself through dress was, somewhat ironically, published alongside the picaresque novella, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which narrates the tale of an impoverished trickster who, through means of fine dress and courtly conduct, fools a young man into believing he is a nobleman. In this dichotomy of literary genres, we find an intriguing social commentary upon the concept that one's identity can be 'artfully manipulated', to quote Greenblatt, to better or worse effect. This humorous, yet moralising publication presents the reader with two polarising accounts on how to behave: the vagabond versus the courtier. Given the comical edge to *Galateo español*, and other similar etiquette books such as Juan Lorenzo Palmireno's *El estudioso de la aldea* (1568) and *El estudioso cortesano* (1573), we would be forgiven for thinking that most Spanish conduct literature was geared towards a younger audience intent on securing an initial entry into Spanish high society. However, as Ruan explains, the *letrados* (law scholars who constituted a large strand of the Spanish court) would have also read this genre, and women too were targeted by manual-writers with Joan Lluís Vives i Marc's *Instrucción de la mujer*

[27] G. della Casa, *Il Galateo* (1558); L. G. Dantisco, *Galateo español* (1593); J. Boscán, *El Castiglione* (1534).
[28] F. E. Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano: Identity and the Forms of Capital in Early Modern Spanish Narrative and Courtesy Literature* (Lewisburg, 2011), p.21.
[29] Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, pp.19-20.
[30] The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'picaresque' as follows: 'Originally: relating to or characteristic of a rogue or knave. Now chiefly: designating a genre of narrative fiction which deals episodically with the adventures of an individual, usually a roguish and dishonest but attractive hero (cf. picaro n, picaroon n.1) having the attributes associated with this genre of narrative'. 'Picaresque' in Oxford English Dictionary online http://oed.com [accessed online: 19/04/2017] < http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/143325?redirectedFrom=picaresque#eid>
[31] Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, p.19.

Cristiana: tratado de las vírgenes (1529) and Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* (1583) proving highly popular amongst female audiences.[32] As these etiquette books demonstrate, there existed a sizeable market for self-help literature in sixteenth-century Spain that promised to better the individual's social identity.

Social historians Elias and Goffman, too, explain how, in renaissance centres such as the Spanish court, elite individuals were expected to play and maintain the role of the 'ideal courtier', by showcasing the type of good manners, social etiquette, and appropriate dress discussed in these conduct books. Performance theory reveals how such social and cultural interactions and rituals enacted between courtiers helped to establish an elite identity. Courtiers jockeyed for status, seeking to maintain and improve upon their position whilst inhibiting the upward mobility of their social inferiors.[33] Along with the aforementioned sumptuary legislations, strict codes of conduct and ceremonials were upheld at the Spanish court and to infringe upon these – by not bowing to a superior or dressing higher than one's status – was perceived a discredit to the status quo. As Elias explains, 'correct' behaviour was the glue that held this precarious house-of-cards together:

> To give [etiquette] up would have meant – from the king down to his valet – to forfeit privilege, to lose power and prestige… To jeopardize such privileges was, to the ruling class of this society, a kind of taboo. The attempt would be opposed by broad sections of the privileged who feared, perhaps not without justification, that the whole system of rule that gave them privilege would be threatened or would collapse if the slightest detail of the traditional order were altered. So everything remained as it was.[34]

To perform his courtly role, the courtier had a number of weapons in his arsenal: the most visibly obvious of these being dress and regalia (religious habit, luxurious textiles, jewels, and medallions for knightly Orders) as illustrated in person or through courtly portraiture, prints and costume books. This was closely followed by speech (the way in which he addressed, and was addressed by his peers), gestures (how he saluted or bowed to others), and manners. Depending upon his position at court, these prostheses could be readily assumed or rejected by the courtier as he saw fit. As performance theorist Frank Whigham has also found, 'identity

[32] J. Lluís Vives i Marc, *Instrucción de la mujer Cristiana: tratado de las vírgenes* (1529); L. de León, *La perfecta casada* (1583)
[33] F. Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court: Courtesy and the Performer-Audience Dialectic', *New Literary History*, 14:3 (1983), p.624.
[34] N. Elias, *The Court Society* (New York, 1983), pp.86-87.

was to be derived from behaviour. Ruling-class status, desired and performed alike, had become not a matter of being but of doing, and so of showing'.[35] In other words, expressing the correct language, behaviour and dress according to a prescribed role (i.e. that of a duke, lord, or knight) was a way of exhibiting the courtier's place within the social hierarchy.

Etiquette and ceremonials laid out in contemporary conduct manuals, therefore, fed into a very Renaissance desire to maintain courtly propriety and perform the role of 'ideal courtier'. As discussed in the Introduction, repetitive ritualistic behaviour and customs constituted and created the individual by continuously producing his identity in the public sphere.[36] Within the Spanish court, such rituals were an intrinsic part of daily life: since 1548, the court, first under Charles V and later Philip II, had assumed a distinctly performative nature taking heed from the ceremonials of the House of Burgundy whereby the king and queen assumed two distinct households and unique codes of conduct.[37] Some of these ceremonials can be read in the manuscript BL Add MS 28361, which comprises letters and complaints concerning the state of etiquette at the royal palaces. In one anonymously-penned letter, a visitor to the palace at Madrid (El Alcázar) writes, 'it is rather good to always observe the ancient customs in the Prince's palaces so that we maintain pride at court'.[38] In another, the seating arrangements at the palace are described in considerable detail, demonstrating how the court's social hierarchy was visually and spatially mapped.[39] Pride, discretion and modesty were three attributes

[35] Whigham, 'Interpretation at Court', p.625.
[36] H. Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader* (London/New York, 2004), p.77.
[37] Spain and Burgundy had shared a special alliance since the fifteenth century when Philip the Handsome, rule of Burgundy, had married Joanna of Castile in 1496. During his reign, Philip II ruled the Burgundian Netherlands and the Franche Comté of Burgundy in France which pertained to the House of Burgundy. See, G. Parker, *The Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven/London, 2014), pp.4-5; J. S. Lozano, 'Etiquetas y Arquitecturas en los palacios de los Austrias. Una vision desde el cuarto en la reina' in *Actas del XIV Congreso Nacional de Historia de Arte: Correspondencia e integración de las artes*, Vol.II (Malaga, 2004), p.907; Checa; Redworth, 'Kingdoms of Spain', p.48.
[38]'…parece muy bien enlas Cassas de Principe observer Siempre unas costumbres que la antiguedad dellas hace gran sombra en la cassa'. See: BL Add MS 28361, 1579-1588, f.11r. [translation mine]
[39] We also learn indirectly about these ceremonials through complaints registered against members of the royal livery (*guarda*). In 1580, for instance, Don Rodrigo Manuel lodged a complaint against the Archers whom he describes as having refused to walk to one side, and whose Chief Archer failed to offer his right hand which, he explains, is 'more honourable'. The livery are condemned for disobeying their chief and being poorly governed: 'Ellos obedecen mal asu Jheniente y el no les sabe Mandan loque ande hallar y como lo mas son nuevos anda todo mal governado'. Another ordinance from 1588 reveals how unruly behaviour was kept in check by sending local governors or Mayors to survey the public residences of members of the court: 'to remedy, and prevent the crimes and damages that occur daily in Court, and to expel lazy people, and vagabonds that reside there, as well as women of disrepute, it is advised that the Mayors make a general visit to each of their chambers in their houses, and on the streets…' ('Para remediar, y prevenir alos muchos males, y danos que cada dia ay en la Corte, y excluir La gente ociosa, y vagamunda q ay en ella, y tantas mugeres perfidas, convendria que se hiziere una visita general por los Alcaldes, cada uno en su quartel, de las casas y calles…'). See: BL Add MS 28361, 1579-1588, ff.18r; 28r; 169r. [translation mine]

commonly associated with the 'ideal *Spanish* courtier', his comportment, appearance and residence, and all stemmed from Burgundian ceremonials. The royal family largely engaged in what Goffman terms 'avoidance rituals', rather than overt public display, thereby allowing for a form of self-concealment and humility which, 'serve[d], among other purposes, that of preserving a sort of ascendency over the un-sophisticated' and generated an 'artificial mystery whose object [was] to prevent familiar contact and so give the imagination a chance to idealize [them]'.[40] At Philip's palace-monastery, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, completed in 1584, distance and self-concealment were performed spatially, with the royal family residing in discreet internal courtyards.[41] This arrangement, which placed the family at close quarters to the Sacristy, served the effect of producing a monarch who was visibly humble and pious in his comportment, and therefore seen and believed to be both physically and mentally close to God.

In his studies on European court culture, John Adamson has found that, within European palaces such as the Escorial,

> Space was a hierarchical and politically charged commodity; and although each court adopted different solutions to its allocation, certain general principles tended to prevail. Palaces consisted of a series of 'thresholds', each requiring higher degrees of status (or the monarch's favour) before they could be crossed. Court gate, guard chamber, Presence chamber: each interposed barriers between the outside world and the court's inner sanctum, the private apartments of the monarch.[42]

These 'thresholds' were upheld by the strict social hierarchy and ritualistic performances governing courtly life.[43] One important daily ritual, which conferred both honour and status to

[40] Avoidance rituals relate to the cult of deference, so termed by Goffman; an important feature of courtly life wherein 'appreciation [was] regularly conveyed *to* a recipient *of* this recipient [the courtier]' in the form of complements, salutes or bows. The nature of such deference altered radically according to the individuals involved, taking the form of either presentational rituals or avoidance rituals: presentational rituals saw the courtier express his regard towards another individual; avoidance rituals led 'the actor to keep at a distance from the recipient' and, in turn, allow the recipient to perform habits of self-concealment. See: E. Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour* (New York, 1967), pp.57; 62-71; E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh, 1959), pp.74-75.

[41] Checa; Redworth, 'Kingdoms of Spain', p.56.

[42] Adamson, *Princely Courts*, p.13.

[43] The courtly obsession with discretion, as influenced by Burgundian ceremonials, is reflected in El Alcázar and El Escorial. At the primary seat in Madrid, the king and queen's chambers occupied the two largest courtyards at the heart of the palace. The scale of these spaces, illustrated in Juan Gómez de Mora's architectural floorplan (fig.5), suggest that the king's presence would have been felt at court even when he was absent. As the plan by

the all participants involved, was the act of fashioning the monarch's body and identity through clothes. Within the monarch's private bedchamber, courtly dress was inscribed in a complex ceremonial as the daily task of dressing the king was carried out by only the most advantaged courtiers.[44] Permitted in Philip's private quarters were a select group of favoured courtiers, including the *sumiller de corps* (the chief chamberlain or groomsman) and tailor, who would pass, pin or stitch the garments to the monarch.[45] When dressing Philip, individual garments were passed up the social ladder from courtier to courtier in increasing prestige and rank, before being handed to the monarch. Far from being a mundane duty, this intimate act of dressing was deemed a privilege which afforded the chosen courtiers with unrivalled proximity to the monarch. Similar prestige was given also to the *mayordomo mayor*, the lord high steward of the household, who handed the king his napkin at dinner.[46] Elias has discussed this same process in relation to the French Court under Louis XIV, stating that 'the king used his most private acts to establish differences of rank and to distribute distinctions, favours and proofs of displeasure'.[47] It was in this purportedly 'private' realm that the very real and public consequences of establishing such a social hierarchy were reproduced through daily ritual performances. As both ceremonial instances demonstrate, clothing within the royal context, as well as the ritualistic behaviour associated with it, was charged with symbolic meaning. Reverence was attributed to both the simple act of dressing and passing, and the relic-like quality associated with the very cloth – be it a jerkin or napkin – that came into direct contact with the monarch's body, and honour bestowed upon the participant.[48]

Antoine du Verger also demonstrates (fig.6), these private apartments were interspersed with public rooms such as large salons, a throne room, and a long gallery, with the king's antechambers flanked by the lodgings of the officers of the Wardrobe. The only entrance to the king's private bedroom was via the Sala de Comedías whose public character grew over time with theatrical performances, state celebrations and weddings for the palace's noblewomen taking place here. Contrary to the relative exposure of Philip's rooms, the queen's household inhabited a more intimate set of spaces where visitors were carefully monitored. Her apartments at Madrid comprised, in order of succession: a throne room; a smaller state room; an antechamber which any person 'de calidad' (of quality) may enter; a chamber for public meals; a conference chamber attendees to a public meal might later enter (however, should the queen dine alone, only her *mayordomo mayor*, lady-in-waiting and maids-of-honour acompanied her); an internal chamber; a bedchamber and a wardrobe or dais. To ensure the safety and fidelity of the queen, few men were permitted into her apartments (including the king, his *mayordomo mayor* and the queen's chaplain) and only female courtiers were allowed to reside at the palace. In the king's absence, the queen would sleep alongside her lady-in-waiting. See: Adamson, *Princely Courts*, p.11; Lozano, 'Etiquetas', pp.911; 914-916; Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Court of Philip II of Spain', p.213; Parker, *Imprudent King*, pp.14-15.

[44] Elias, *The Court Society*, p.86.

[45] Upon rising in the morning, Philip's bed-curtains would be drawn back by the *sumiller* whose role required, in some European courts, to also sleep at the foot of the monarch's bed. See: Elias, *The Court Society*,, p.86.

[46] Checa; Redworth, 'Kingdoms of Spain', p.50.

[47] Elias, *The Court Society*, pp.84-85.

[48] As well as the distinction in textiles worn at the summer and winter residences (lighter linens and cottons were adopted during the warmer months and heavier velvets during the cooler seasons) courtly apparel was also

The prescribed dress codes, and physical appearances, of the Spanish court meant that Philip and his peers also performed humility physically and visually by using gesture and speech in a curbed and unassuming manner, wearing restrictive black clothing, and posing for stripped-back portraiture.[49] Spanish etiquette books from the period encourage courtiers to follow suit and engage in discreet and civil behaviour. This reflects, Ruan argues, how 'the question of self-governance or self-control [became] a major preoccupation in early modern Europe'.[50] In *Il Cortegiano,* for instance, Calmeta describes how Spaniards appear to 'make a show of great modesty', and a young Charles V (formerly Prince of Spain) is praised for his promising 'signs of goodness, prudence, *modesty*, magnanimity and every kind of virtue'.[51] Palmireno's *El estudioso de la aldea* (1568), too, advises the courtier to be discreet in his actions: 'When you achieve something great, try to keep it a secret, and don't be led towards proud and vainglorious behaviour'.[52]

Alongside these outward visual markers of discretion, modesty and pride, there were internal factors which were believed to contribute towards the making of the 'ideal Spanish

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influenced by the public and private nature of these architectural spaces. Philip wore simpler garb when 'off-duty' at his summer residences, and donned more elaborate apparel for state events in Madrid. His growing preference for dark clothing over the course of his reign went hand-in-hand with his increasing retreat into the spiritual sanctuary of the Escorial. During the Lent festivities of 1584, his attire was so simple that he was described by fray Jerónimo Sepúlveda as being dressed in plain black 'clothes and cap, he looked just like a physician'. See: J. Sepúlveda, (c.1600s) *Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España y otras naciones desde el año de 1584 hasta el de 1603*. (Madrid, 1924), p.4; L. Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties in the Habsburg Period', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.167-169.

[49] At the Escorial, Philip maintained a 'hidden' bedchamber alongside the monastery's Sacristy (fig.11) where he could attend mass in private. He also concealed himself in tabernacle-like cubicles during public processions, royal attendances of *autos-de-fé*, and public mass. See: Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Court of Philip II of Spain', p.213; Parker, *Imprudent King*, pp.14-15.

[50] Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, p.20.

[51] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, pp.129; 313 [emphasis mine]

[52] In contrast to this preference for discretion, the Spanish court, like other European centres, was subject to public display. Evidence of such public performance can be found a painting of the baptism of the Infante Fernando in 1571 (fig.7) which shows a courtly procession in the church of San Gil. Decked out in their finery, the congregation comprise a veritable 'who's who' of the Spanish upper class with the names of monarchs, dukes, marquises and ambassadors listed below. The Spanish court was also under the watchful eyes of foreign European courts and Philip did, on occasion, dress in foreign garb for public displays so as to appease certain diplomatic allies. On the occasion of his coronation of King of Portugal in 1581, for instance, Alonso Sánchez Coello painted the monarch dressed in an unlikely suit of gold and white brocade; an ensemble in the Portuguese style (fig.8). Philip's resistance this extravagant dress is bluntly expressed in a letter to his daughter Isabel: '[…] they want to make me wear brocade against my will, they say that it is the custom over there [Portugal]'. See: Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, p.21; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.24; L. Rangström, 'Swedish Lions of Fashion in Spanish Costume' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), p.190; L. Miller, 'An Illustrious Gentleman Dressed the Spanish Way: The Visit of the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.297-298; F. Bouza (ed.), *Cartas de Felipe a sus hijas* (Madrid, 1998), p.35; Palmireno, *El estudioso de la aldea*, p.54. [translation mine]

courtier'. Elite Spanish identity during sixteenth century was concerned with purity of blood (*pureza de sangre*), a religious ideology promoted by the Catholic monarchs Isabel and Ferdinand in the late fifteenth century and propounded by the Spanish Inquisition thereafter. Together, the monarchs and their Inquisitional authorities set upon proselytizing and converting the non-Catholic populace, often by force, beginning with the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and culminating with the removal of the Moors in 1609 under Philip III. Those who chose to convert to Catholicism, and become known as *conversos*, were often ostracized from mainstream society and prohibited from entering the ranks of Spanish nobility. As Edmund Valentine Campos explains,

> While the ostensible goal of forced baptism was to bring infidels within the pale of the Catholic Church, the procedure simultaneously fostered a strong racial and racist discourse by contributing to the Spanish ideology of limpieza de sangre (purity of blood). The desire for Spaniards to trace their ancestry to Old Christian stock rather than to the bloodlines of recent converts illustrates how, despite the superficial equalizing effect of Christian baptism, religious difference was recast in a racist framework.[53]

The Catholic unification of the Iberian Peninsula, therefore, gave form to an intensely hierarchical social and religious infrastructure in which a 'pure' bloodline (as determined by a lineage of Catholic forefathers) became a defining feature of the Spanish aristocracy and nobility. This was a society concerned with the notion of fixity and the perception that Spanish nobles could trace their Catholic lineage back without any hint of racial or religious miscegenation.[54] What is striking is that this religious ideology of purity and 'fixity' appears at odds with the concurrent vogue for etiquette literature (which taught the individual how to mould and adapt his identity), the belief that a Jewish or Moorish identity could be reconfigured into a Catholic one, and the fact that, during this period, nobility itself became a commodity.[55]

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[53] E. V. Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *ELH*, 69:3 (2002), p.602.

[54] This belief arguably gathered momentum during the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the Eighty Years War in the Netherlands.

[55] As Elisa Ruiz García finds, there existed three types of nobility, 'there was a distinction between 'hidalgos solariegos' [ancestral nobility], the oldest category; 'hidalgos notorios' [known nobility], who lacked property and title, but who had formerly been in possession of both; and 'hidalgos de privilegios' [merit-based nobility], those who had reached the noble threshold by royal designation. In such cases, the [royal] grant could be motivated by civil or military merits, possession of lands or property, or adquired via other means' ('existió un prolongado debate en la sociedad entre los defensores de la nobleza adquirida por mérito personal frente a la heredada, no obstante, la concepción arcaizante predominaría. De hecho, se distinguía entre "hidalgos solariegos", la categoría más antigua; "hidalgos notorios" carentes de solar y de otro título, pero tenidos por tales desde antaño; e "hidalgos

The fact that nobility, in Spain, could be achieved through means other than birth-right was subject to intense debate. The treatise 'Titulos Son' appended in BL Add MS 28361, for instance, discusses at length how noble titles must be assigned to individuals using 'prudent discretion' and must reflect the subject's 'virtues'.[56] As Peter Berek has found in relation to English theatre, individuals at this time were 'obsessed by the possibilities that identity might be willed or chosen and social position achieved by deeds, not birth'.[57] Berek goes on to add that, 'Marranos, or Iberian Jews claiming to be converted to Christianity, are plausible representations of the idea that identity is not stable and can be created by individuals themselves'.[58] Given the Spanish nobility's preoccupation with their own 'fixed identity' and purity of blood, Spanish conduct manuals, I propose, might be read with an eye to both the elite class's eagerness to self-promote as well as their anxiety towards 'upstarts' and religious *conversos*. If nobility might be bought, faith might be changed, and new wardrobes might be donned, the privileged social position of the Spanish elite could be threatened by social climbers.

As with other European centres, the public display of one's identity – as fashioned through luxury garb, 'proper' comportment, bloodlines and ceremonials – was an important means of securing social status at the Spanish court. Vincent explains how, 'the sartorial project, although begun in private, generated most meaning when viewed by others'.[59] Indeed, whilst sources such as eye-witness accounts and palace floorplans (figs.5-6; 9-11) suggest that the Spanish monarchy often shied away from public display – with Philip increasingly isolating himself from the court at Madrid by retreating to the rural Escorial – there exist numerous other visual and textual sources from the period that show that for many members of the Spanish

de privilegio", aquellos que habían alcanzado el umbral nobilario por designación real. En tales casos la concesión podía estar motivada por méritos civiles o militares, posesión de bienes, adquisición u otras vías'). The former, 'hidalgos solariegos', were held in the highest esteem whilst the latter two forms were subject to debate. Evidence of this debate concerning who could be classed a nobleman is evident in contemporary sumptuary legislation from the late sixteenth century onwards whereby it is laws concerning the usage of titles are tightened. See: E. Ruiz García, 'La Carta Ejecutoria de Hidalguía: Un Espacio Gráfico Privilegiado', *En la España Medieval* (2006), pp.254-255 [translation mine]; Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)', pp.237-239.

[56] BL Add MS 28361, 1579-1588, ff.33v-34r.

[57] P. Berek, 'The Jew as Renaissance Man', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51:1 (1998), p.130.

[58] Berek, 'The Jew as Renaissance Man', p.130.

[59] Indeed, the court at Madrid, where much of Philip's social and political activities took place, catered to a more public audience than his residence El Escorial. Bass and Wunder describe how in this new capital, court and city were, 'dramatic spaces where many different social types played out the mundanities, coquetteries, entertainments and necessities of urban life'. This was a place where the streets were alive with religious and secular processions and where everyday folk paraded on foot or in upholstered carriages. See: L. R. Bass; A. Wunder, 'Fashion and Urban Views in Seventeenth-century Madrid' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), p.365; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.9.

elite classes, the need to publicly demonstrate and prove their noble identity was of utmost importance, and clothing played a central role in enabling them to do so. Documents such as the *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía*, as discussed below, illustrate just that process.

Proofs of Identity: Reading Dress in the *Cartas Ejecutorias de Hidalguía*

Elite Spanish identity, described in etiquette literature and upheld through sumptuary legislation and courtly ceremonials, was also materialised in textual forms such as *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía*. The *cartas*, otherwise known as patents of nobility, were legal documents that comprised several graphic and illuminated manuscript folios and that were intended to prove the noble lineage and status of a given individual. They were drawn up in the Sala de los Hijosdalgos (Office of Nobility) at the Chancillería de Valladolid (High Court of Valladolid) and later Granada, in response to complaints made against, or in the name of an individual who wished to demonstrate and secure his noble identity. These complaints often related to his noble privileges, such as a request to be made exempt from paying taxes, but were also issued in response to more serious matters. The judicial process was lengthy, often taking several years, during which time the nobleman's status needed to be verified by witnesses who could vouch for his noble lineage and purity of blood. These are documents that speak first and foremost of the individual's identity.

Despite their value as judicial, historic and artistic sources, the *cartas* have never been examined from an art historical vantage point and have received little scholarly attention with only a handful of Hispanists (María Inés Martínez Guerra, Elisa Ruiz García and Laura Esparza Sainz) examining the manuscripts in relation to their diplomatic or palaeographic significance.[60] In her study of the format and function of *cartas*, Ruiz García usefully outlines some common trends which emerge in the manuscripts and finds that they make frequent reference to the following claims: primarily, that the individual is in fact a nobleman; that he is not the descendent of Moors, Jews or *conversos*; and that he is not of illegitimate birth. These statements are proven through references to his biological and marital family ties. The *cartas*

[60] Ruiz García, 'La Carta Ejecutoria de Hidalguía', pp.251-276; L. Esparza Sainz, 'Estudio paleográfico de la carta ejecutoria de hidalguía de Miguel de Esparza', Funciones y practices de la escritura: I Congreso de Investigadores Noveles en Ciencas Documentales (2013), pp.63-68; M. I. Martínez Guerra, 'Reales cartas ejecutorias del archivo de la Real Cancillería de Valladolid. Fuentes para la historia', *Frentes Avanzados de la Historia* (2012) in 'Frentes Avanzados de la Historia' online http://maytediez.blogia.com [accessed online: 03/04/2017] <http://maytediez.blogia.com/2005/060301-reales-cartas-ejecutorias-del-archivo-de-la-real-chancilleria-de-valladolid.-fue.php>

also recognise, Ruiz García notes, the privileges that the nobleman is afforded on account of his status, such as an exemption from taxes, as previously mentioned, and acceptance into confraternities.[61]

Given their close attention to the material manifestations of nobility – namely, the representation of noble dress – I argue that these manuscripts, with their vibrantly-coloured illustrations, should not be dismissed as minor legal documents, but valued as important visual and textual evidence of how acts of self-fashioning could be performed on the page in sixteenth-century Spain. They are significant to the study of Spanish elite identity as they reflect a contemporary concern towards the individual's selfhood and noble status.[62] Together with conduct books, *cartas* reveal a preoccupation with the notion that the individual's noble status might be acquired through means other than his birth-right. Indeed, as Currie has found, 'the question of whether the status of nobility could be achieved without the privilege of noble birth is discussed at length in [Castiglione's *Book of the*] *Courtier*', noble or not, she continues, 'the attributes of the ideal courtier were of little value unless they were immediately apparent to a wider social audience, and dress formed one of the most obvious links between the external and internal'.[63] Dress features so prominently in the *cartas*, along with the nobleman's coat-of-arms and witnesses' accounts, I argue, because it was deemed a necessary component in his public self-imaging as an 'ideal courtier'.

The *cartas* function both textually and visually. They serve as early forms of passports: presenting an image of the individual, providing biographical details regarding his personal and family history, and detailing his place of residence. In short, they act as proofs of identity. However, I propose that the *cartas* provide much more information regarding their subject, and offer greater insight into sixteenth-century Spanish ideas surrounding the construction of identity, than at first meets the eye. I argue that they are better read in line with contemporary trends in early modern portraiture and autobiographical writing. The sixteenth century has often been associated with the birth of European portraiture and the autobiography, which emerged as a result of the rise in humanist scholarship and a growing awareness of the individual's

[61] Ruiz García, 'La Carta Ejecutoria de Hidalguía', p.263.
[62] Ruiz García, 'La Carta Ejecutoria de Hidalguía', pp. 254-255.
[63] E. Currie, 'Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature', *Fashion Theory*, 4:2 (2000), p.160.

subjectivity and ability to mould his identity to suit a particular role.[64] According to the nineteenth-century art historian Jacob Burckhardt, this shift in attitude and cultural output was a distinctly Western phenomenon that was born out of the Italian Renaissance.[65] Indeed, as Peter Burke acknowledges, the increase in urbanization and migration during this period contributed towards new modes of living and a new understanding the self: 'It might be argued that the [Italian] city, which offers alternative ways of life, encourages sense of individual choice'.[66] Joanna Woods-Marsden, too, finds that there as an increased 'tendency…to view the internal self as an agent or subject'.[67] The understanding that the individual could fashion his internal self through the use of external attributes (clothing, body language and behaviour), text and paint, led to an increased use of visual cues and props in portraiture (namely thrones, armour, coats-of-arms, wedding rings, and other such luxury goods) which connoted 'who' the individual was.[68] Portraiture became increasingly concerned with verisimilitude and the need to represent the 'true likeness' of the sitter, much in the same way that autobiographies promised to provide a 'true account' of their subject.[69]

In Spain, prototypes for early forms of autobiography were plentiful: Gutierre Diez de Games' fifteenth-century chronicle of the Count of Buelna, Don Pero Niño, is often cited as the first text to deal with the individualism of a non-aristocratic figure; whilst the later royal chronicles, *Generaciones y Semblanzas* penned by Fernán Pérez de Guzman in 1455 comprise what Sonia Rose describes as 'a collection of brief portraits of contemporary ecclesiastical and aristocratic figures…that [had] a crucial influence on the development of the literary portrait

[64] P. Burke, 'Representations of the self from Petrarch to Descartes' in R. Porter (ed.) *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London/New York, 1997), p.17; P. Burke, 'The presentation of the self in the Renaissance Portrait' in P. Burke (ed.) *The Historical anthropology of early modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.150.

[65] J. Sawday, 'Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century' in R. Porter (ed.) *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London, 1997), p.30; R. Smith, 'Self-Reflection and The Self' in R. Porter (ed.) *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London, 1997), pp.49-50.

[66] However, Burke, like scholars Goffman, Elias and Whigham, recognizes the limitations of Burkhardt's understanding of early modern portraiture and autobiography. Burckhardt fails to consider the global scope of these self-reflexive trends: it was Asian practices in autobiographical writing, in fact, which predated European efforts during this period, and classical texts before them which formed the earliest literary prototypes. See: Burke, 'Representations of the self', pp.18; 22.

[67] J. Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven/London, 1998), p.15.

[68] Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, p.15.

[69] Self-portraiture, as Woods-Marsden finds, was a type of painting which required both processes self-discovery and -invention on the part of the artist: 'We invent what we think we want to discover. The birth or invention of the autonomous self-portrait can…be perceived as both an awakening to the existence of an inner self already in place, and that self's reinvention according to a new self-conscious awareness'. See: Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, p.16; Burke, 'Representations of the self', pp.25-26.

in Spain'.[70] It is these royal chronicles or 'literary portraits', Rose argues, 'which offered the reader a gallery of illustrious characters and of heroes [assuring] Spain's primacy' and formed the backbone of later autobiographical writings, akin to the Italian Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1550).[71] Another type of Spanish text, which perhaps more closely resembles the *cartas*, is the soldier's autobiography. As Burke finds, these texts 'were almost common enough to form a sub-genre of their own, the most famous example being [that of] Alonso de Contreras', a soldier born in Madrid in 1582 whose military efforts took him to Europe and the West Indies.[72] Autobiographies such as these echoed portraiture's self-conscious interest in individualism. However, they also *informed* portraiture. As Joanna Woodall's research into Anthonis Mor's portrait of Mary shows, contemporary Spanish texts such as the *Varia Historia de Sanctas e Illustres Mugeres en Todo Genero de Virtudes* (1583) provided inspiration for the visual representation of women. The biographies of Spanish noble and aristocratic women included in this text, Woodall argues, function as 'short *verbal portraits* of famous women' insofar as they painted a picture of their personal histories.[73]

It is unsurprising that these autobiographies, which document the exciting adventures and lived experiences of the individual, should also inform the fictional endeavours of the Spanish literary picaresque genre.[74] In this blurring between literature and real-life biographies, life is shown to imitate art, as art in turn mimics life.[75] Woodall finds that these textual and visual sources were often taken to be a true representation of real life: 'Renaissance sources make it very clear that these visual products [portraits] were to be interpreted as if they were poetry…especially when the skill of hand that gave verisimilitude to the paintings imparted the notion that the painted illusions literally represented the "truth"'.[76] Together with portraiture,

[70] S. V. Rose, '"The Great Moctezuma": A Literary Portrait in Sixteenth Century Spanish American Historiography' in K. Enenkel; B. de Jong-Crane; P. Liebrefts (eds.) *Modelling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance* (Atlanta, GA, 1998), p.117.
[71] Rose, '"The Great Moctezuma": A Literary Portrait', p.118.
[72] Burke, 'Representations of the self', p.27.
[73] J. Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', *Art History*, 14:2 (1991), p.210. [emphasis own]
[74] Cervantes' creation of the errant knight, Don Quixote, presents a fictional chivalric tale as if it were a recollection of a true story. See also: Burke, 'Representations of the self', p.22
[75] It is worth noting that these autobiographies were also likely to have been peppered with fiction so as to sustain the reader's attention.
[76] In Italy, the language employed to describe portrait painting was '*inganno*' (literally meaning, deception); verisimilitude was believed to be a trick of the eye. For Woods-Marsden, this type of 'artful deception was comparable to the type of self-fashioning whereby Castiglione's courtier hoped to shaped himself as a living work of art'. See: Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, p.17; J. A. Mazzeo, 'Castiglione's Courtier: The Self as a Work of Art', in *Renaissance and Revolution: the remaking of European thought* (New York, 1966), pp.135-160.

therefore, sixteenth-century autobiographical texts served as a public and material manifestation of the contemporary desire to shape one's identity, and of the self-awareness amongst the elite classes that identity could indeed be altered in the first place.

We might ask, then, how these ideas reveal themselves in the *cartas*. The concern with individualism and identity formation, as seen in sixteenth-century portraiture and autobiographies, I propose, also appears in the *carta*, which includes both textual biographical details about the individual and the all-familiar visual paraphernalia of nobility seen in portraits. In sum, the *carta* can be understood too as a 'verbal or literary portrait' of the nobleman as both text and image collide to create a visual lexicon intended to be 'read' by the viewer. Nearly all extant *cartas* follow the same format, opening with an illuminated folio with an image of the nobleman in question, as accompanied by his family, and followed by images of his coat-of-arms, a Nativity scene, and the patron saint of Spain, Santiago (St James). These images are usually interspersed with graphic folios comprising text that details the nature of the legal complaint and trial, and the individual's noble lineage. In these manuscripts, text and image work in tandem with one furthering the visual or textual message of the other. The illustrated folios quite clearly serve as portraits, in the same manner as miniatures, but so too do their textual accompaniments. As legal documents, the *cartas* could easily suffice without their illustrations: the text provides the reader with the appropriate biographical and legal information regarding the nobleman in question. However, the very fact that the visual representation of the nobleman, as adorned in elite dress and appended with his coat-of-arms, is present within these *cartas* demonstrates how visual and material signifiers – such as clothing – were deemed necessary steps towards proving the individual's identity. Through these images, we are able to see just how the construction of Spanish identity was believed to rely upon both internal and external factors of the individual's self. In the case of the nobleman, as defended within his *carta*, his internal bodily composition (i.e. his Catholic bloodline and ethnicity) and his external luxurious clothing are presented as vital components in the demonstration of a noble identity.

Taking specific examples of *cartas*, we can explore these ideas further. As a number of *cartas* produced in Granada between 1570 and 1626 show (figs.12-19) illustrated frontispieces were often divided horizontally with a devotional scene or holy figure occupying the top half of the folio and an image of the nobleman and his family placed below. These illustrations were contained within a florid border and, in some cases, an iconographic framework of architecture

and saints, as well as a copy of the nobleman's coat-of-arts or the initials of the reigning monarch, DON PHELIPPE, which referred to either Philip II or III, depending upon the date. These *cartas* are largely formulaic and make use of a limited set of religious tropes that would have been used to illustrate the nobleman's Catholic faith. Figures 12-14, for instance, show three *cartas* belonging to the noblemen, Miguel de Olmedilla (dated 1573), Bernal Ramirez (1579), and Pedro de Sierra Hurtado (1600), which present the nobleman (either alone or with his family) knelt and gazing upwards in religious contemplation towards a vision of the Virgin Mary and Child.[77] In illustrating a quasi-icon image of Mary and Christ, these *cartas* also present a Catholic origin story which both demonstrates the longevity of the Catholic faith and insinuates the long-standing purity of the nobleman's own Catholic lineage. We can see how contemporary understandings of nobility were enmeshed with ideas of piety in Bernal Ramirez's carta. In it, the nobleman is depicted on his knees with his hat in hand, in an act of pious humility. Any contestation of Ramirez's noble status is swiftly silenced by the sight of the infant Christ who, with outstretched arms, offers his blessing to the Spaniard. Ramirez's noble status is proven, legitimated and reaffirmed through this show of faith.

In other *cartas* the Virgin Mary is shown standing, sometimes with her arms outstretched and protecting her subjects below her mantle (as seen with Alonso de Mohedas and Antón Gallego's *cartas*, figs.15-16), other times with her hands engaged in prayer as if teaching her followers to imitate her actions (as shown in Diego Jusepe Montoya and Cristóbal Quintero Velázquez's *cartas*, figs.17-18). We are reminded here of contemporary practices in altarpiece painting, particularly amongst Netherlandish artists, whereby patrons were frequently depicted alongside saints, in a nod to their own devotional habits and a bid to reduce their penance (fig.20). The religious scenes presented on the other folios are also telling of Spanish attitudes towards elite identity. Many of these *cartas* comprise full folios showing St James the Moor-slayer (*Santiago Matamoros*) which self-consciously references the nobleman's purity of blood and disconnect from religious 'heretics' such as Moors, Jews and *conversos*. As well as presenting the noble family alongside saints, or as descended from Catholic forefathers, accompanying portraits of the reigning monarch are also occasionally

[77] It is possible that these cartas may have provided stock motifs and imagery that could be used in portrait painting. Fig.13, for instance, shows Bernal Ramirez knelt in a similar position to Philip II in El Greco's *Dream of Philip II* (1580, fig.57)

appended on later folios thereby depicting the nobleman as being, quite literally, stood back-to-back with the king. He is presented in good company.

The material wealth shown on the page (in the form of elaborate gilding, colourful pigments, calligraphy and decorative border-work) is also represented internally within these illustrated scenes. Luxurious clothing features prominently in each of the *cartas* where the nobleman and his family are shown dressed proudly in their best apparel. We know little about the production of the *cartas* and whether individuals posed in their favourite dress or simply described the type of clothing they wished to be depicted in to the miniaturist.[78] Nevertheless, they provide insight into popular elite fashions during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, illustrating a number of commonly held assumptions about elite Spanish dress during this period, whilst also revealing certain sartorial practices which have not yet been widely discussed in contemporary historical scholarship. Of the *cartas* already mentioned here, those belonging to Antón Gallego (fig.16), Diego Jusepe Montoya (fig.17), Cristóbal Quintero Velázquez (fig.18) and Lazaro de Yarza (fig.19) are, I argue, of particular value to the dress historian owing to the detail with which the figures' clothing is depicted. In Gallego's *carta*, we are presented with an unusual, and extremely large ensemble of figures, who do not resemble the typical family group seen in other *cartas* from the period. Gallego's patent of nobility actually proved the noble identity of three *other* men; Alonso Gallego, Blas Mogollón and Miguel Gallego. Stood in succession on the left-hand side of the folio, these four men are placed behind two infants and opposite a further four figures (a woman in a nun's habit and three men of varying ages). As is to be expected for the period, this *carta* demonstrates the trend for wearing black amongst the male nobility and, contrastingly, the use of brighter colours for children's clothes. The men wear black breeches, black round-cut cloaks, and black doublets adorned with gold buttons. Their necks, however, as befitting the date of the *carta*'s publication (1626), are dressed in the simple *golilla* collar popularized by Philip IV (fig.21). The infants, by contrast, are shown in ruffs, the residual fashions of the sixteenth century.

Earlier *cartas*, belonging to the Spanish noblemen Lazaro de Yarza, Diego Jusepe Montoya, and Cristóbal Quintero Velázquez are in keeping with the fashions of Philip II's court

[78] Similar to the depiction of clothing on tomb effigies, which was not always based on real garments that the deceased owned, these painted representations of clothes may have also been fictionalised. However, they remain useful sources insofar as they reveal what the patron of the *carta* deemed desirable enough to prove he was monied and of noble birth.

and present a more common familial configuration with the nobleman stood alongside or opposite his wife, and their children placed behind. Again, like Gallego's *carta,* these manuscripts present the nobleman, and oftentimes his wife, dressed in black (with a ruff rather than a *golilla*) and their offspring adorned in more colourful garb. What is revealing about these depictions of clothing is the manner in which colour usage appears to be based on gender, age and marital status. Historians have traditionally described Philip's court as a 'black court'; however, as these *cartas* show, unwed daughters were nearly always depicted dressed in red, blue or yellow silks. It is this alternative colour usage that I discuss later in relation to the international dye trade. Noticeably, these *cartas* illustrate a disregard for the aforementioned sumptuary legislations, with gold braid and other such ornamentation, as well as starched ruffs, appearing in each of the illustrated folios. Embroidered and slashed fabrics appear on many of the women's dresses too, as seen in Montoya's *carta* (fig.17), as well as long-bodied jerkins (similar to the extant example in fig.22), hooped Spanish sleeves and conical farthingales (*verdugados*). In viewing these *cartas*, therefore, we may be reminded of Hollander's theory, discussed in the Introduction, that 'clothes make…the image of the man'.[79] The *cartas'* depictions of elite clothing, however, were not simply intended as decorative illustrations or by-products of a legal document, but an important means of verifying the 'true likeness' of the wearer, thereby legitimising and 'making real' his noble identity.[80]

Wearing the 'Spanish Silhouette': Components of Male and Female Spanish Wardrobes

The garments depicted in the *cartas* and those that clothed the Spanish court were recognised in Europe as embodying a distinctive 'Spanish style'. With this distinct set of stylistic features came an equally unique vocabulary of dress which in some respects mirrored, and in others differed from, the sartorial language used elsewhere in Europe. Whilst a basic survey of dress components may seem tedious, as Vincent puts it, a 'broad-brush' introduction to the male and female wardrobes of the early modern court is essential in establishing a foundational knowledge of clothing terminology that is otherwise alien to the contemporary dress historian:

> This may seem like a step in an altogether unreflective direction – a scrap of 'hemline history' – but before any scrutiny of meaning we need an appreciation of form.

[79] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, pp.xv-xvi.
[80] A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley, 1993), pp.xv-xvi.

> Without at least sharing the vocabulary of clothing with sixteenth- and seventeenth- century wearers, and to some degree being able to visualize its referent objects, our understanding of journal entries, laws, satire and pictorial records will be very partial indeed.[81]

The linguistic and material components of early modern Spanish dress will, therefore, receive special attention here and in the glossary of textiles terminology located in Appendix A. As Anderson, Bernis, Reade, Davidson and Wunder have extensively examined, under Charles V's rule in the first half of the sixteenth century, Spanish fashions welcomed in foreign influences from Germany and France; however, by the 1550s, Spain had become an international leader of fashion trends and its dress-styles remained unchanged until the close of the century.[82]

Spanish inventories from the period provide insight into the wardrobes of the Spanish elite. Two inventories dated 1600 and pertaining to Juan Alfonso Pimental de Herrera V, the Count-Duke of Benavente, paint a picture of a luxurious and well-stocked wardrobe.[83] Pimental de Herrera's sartorial investments reflect male elite dress habits of the time, as well as a personal liking for conspicuous consumption: in his closet, he owned no less than twenty-four jerkins (*jubones*), eighteen pairs of trunk hose (*calzas*), and twenty-five different variants of outwear, amongst other such garments, and he dedicated an entire subsection of his inventory to hats (*gorras* and *somberos*).[84] The dress code of the male courtier would have paralleled that of the Count-Duke (provided he was of the same rank), comprising under-garments in the form of a cotton or linen undershirt (*camisa*) and underpants (*calzoncillos*) worn beneath a layer of skin-tight trunk hose (*calzas* or *calzas atacadas*), which stretched from the ankles to either the waist or knees, breeches (*calzones*) which ballooned in shape to create the illusion of wide thighs (fig.23), and a codpiece.[85] Pimental de Herrera's inventory makes mention of similar

[81] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.13; S. M. Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 37 (1953), pp.3-25.
[82] R. M. Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530* (New York, 1979); C. Bernis, 'La moda en la España de Felipe II a través del retrato de Corte' in A. E. Pérez Sánchez (ed.) *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la Corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1990), pp.65-111; C. Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote* (Madrid, 2001); Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court', pp.169-171; A. Wunder, 'Spanish Dress' in Kenneth Mills; Evonne Levy (eds.) *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2013), pp.106-110; B. Reade, *Costume of the Western World: The Dominance of Spain, 1550-1660*, (London, 1951), p.5.
[83] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119: 'Inventario de bienes de [Juan Alfonso Pimental de Herrera, V] conde[-duque] de Benavente. Se refiere a los conservados en la cámara y guardarropa'
[84] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119, ff.4r-4v; 6r-7r; 8r-9v; 10r-11r.
[85] According to legend, some men used their codpieces to store valuables such as jewels or money. See: T. C. String, 'Projecting Masculinity: Henry VIII's Codpiece' in *Henry VIII and his Afterlives: Literature, Politics and Art* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.143-159.

taffeta trunk hose ('Otras calcas de tafetan…') and brown cloth trunk hose ('Otras Calcas de Rasso pardo…').[86]

Not only was dressing, particularly for the monarch, a collective affair requiring numerous hands to assemble a single outfit, but, as Herrero García notes, the order in which these clothes were placed on the body differed significantly from contemporary dress habits. Rather than layer garments onto the body one by one, each individual body part would be fully dressed before moving on to the torso or next bare limb. For example, the Spanish courtier, already wearing his *calzoncillos*, would proceed to dress his left leg fully in one hose, sock and shoe before dressing his right leg.[87] Following this, a long-sleeved doublet (*sayo*) would be worn over the undershirt, with a jerkin (*jubón*, fig.24) atop. Pimental de Herrera's inventory, again, includes descriptions of elaborate jerkins, including one black taffeta jerkin with slashing and matching sleeves, all lined with taffeta ('Otro Jubon de tafetan negro llano picado y mangas de lo mismo aforrado entafetan').[88] Similar to English fashions, men's stomachs were pronounced using brans-stuffing, whalebone busks or bombast to create the popular peascod doublet which bowed at the waist. Less popular in Spain, yet still practised, was the decorative technique of pinking or slashing which was applied to silk jerkins to reveal the wearer's undershirt below.[89]

Round-cut cloaks were the most popular item of male dress to be worn in Spain and Europe.[90] Worn atop the wearer's usual garb of hose, doublet and jerkin, these cloaks were crafted from huge quantities of fabric, usually a heavy silk-mix textile such as a printed damask or satin, and embroidered with metal threads (figs.25-27). They were cut using a large semi-circular pattern to allow the garment to move easily when worn across the shoulders.[91] Four styles of cloak were popularly worn in Spain from the mid-sixteenth century to the first quarter of the seventeenth: the *capa*, a semi-circular cloak with a long hood or cowl, known as a *capilla*, which measured half the total length of the cloak; the *herreruelo*, a semi-circular cloak with a flat collar (named after German *ferreruelo* soldiers who fought under Charles V during early 1500s); the *tudesco*, a voluminous cloak with wide sleeves that was worn loosely atop the

[86] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119, ff.6r-6v.
[87] M. Herrero García, *Estudios sobre indumentaria española en la época de los austrias* (Madrid, 2014), p.21.
[88] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119, f.4v.
[89] Reade, *Costume of the Western World*, pp.9-10.
[90] Bernis, 'La moda en la España', p.76.
[91] J. Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion. The cut and construction of clothes for men and women, c.1560-1620* (London, 1985), p.5.

shoulders; and finally, the *bohemio,* a cloak made exclusively for the aristocracy and decorated with a thick border of fur or metallic embroidery.[92] No longer used solely as livery for troops or as protective outerwear, Spanish cloaks were wielded as signifiers of masculinity and courtly and military prowess. Again, we find references to such ensembles in Pimental de Herrera's inventories, including a *herreruelo* cloak and dress-coat with sleeves both made from silk and lined with cloth ('herreruelo y Ropilla de saya de seda llanos aforrada en bayeta La ropilla Con mangas de los mismo…') and a *herrereulo, capa* and dress-coat made from brown cloth ('Herreruelo Capa y Ropilla de Pano negro…').[93]

Within the Spanish court, these cloaks played an important role in the 'performance' of identity, allowing their wearers to cut an elegant silhouette upon entering or exiting a room. Contrary to the rest of the Spanish male ensemble – which included high collars, wide ruffs and stiff, padded doublets and jerkins – the cloak welcomed quick movement. As Reade notes, shorter cloaks were popular with 'the energetic man' owing to their roomy feel:

> They were less cumbersome on horseback, particularly when the rider mounted and dismounted; and they were more convenient to wear over the Spanish and Italian rapiers then coming into use, which were so long that they had to be bounced up into a horizontal position before they could be un-sheathed.[94]

This transition to shorter cloaks, from previous full-length woollen cloaks, responded to the changing needs of the wearers whilst in battle and subsequently altered their methods of swordsmanship. They were also employed in the more entertaining pastime of fencing. The phrase 'cloak and dagger', which we now commonly use to refer to Golden Age mystery plays, originally referred to a fencing technique described in compendia for martial arts, known as *Fechtbucher* (fig.28), which involved wrapping a cloak around the left arm whilst fencing with the right arm.[95] The Spanish manual, *Libro de las grandezas de la espada* (1600), for instance, exalts the use of the cloak in combat, stating: 'the sword and cloak are the best weapons because they cover the swordsman, protect the arm and engulf the enemy as if he were a bull'.[96] From

[92] Bernis, 'La moda en la España', pp.75-78; García Herrera, *Estudios,* pp.128-43; 158-70.
[93] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119, ff.8v-9r.
[94] Reade, *Costume of the Western World,* p.6.
[95] A. Hutton, *Old Sword Play: Techniques of the Great Masters* (New York, 2001), p.1.
[96] Achille Marozzo's famous manual, *Opera Nova dell'Arte delle Armi*, too, illustrates how the 'cloak and dagger' was an effective mechanism for safeguarding the swordsman whilst disarming his opponent. Along with hunting, this type of combative sport was the reserve of the wealthy and was considered a reflection of the individual's

the battle field to the playing field the cloak became synonymous with military prowess – an association it carried through into the royal court.

Contrary to the ease and flair with which male courtiers carried themselves through court, the female elite were generally more inhibited by their clothing. Extant inventories from the period, belonging to widowed women, reveal a significant amount of decorative and heavy clothing. In 1592, Brianda Sarmiento de la Cerda, the 4th Duchess of Béjar, filed a legal complaint against her stepson requesting that she retain custody of her late husband's possessions. In the accompanying inventory, large quantities of female garments are listed (presumably worn by Sarmiento de la Cerda) which mirror the type of female clothing commonly depicted in Spanish court portraiture from the period.[97] Sarmiento de la Cerda's inventory reveals that the Duchess generally wore dark dresses with more colourful undergarments, akin to the type of fashionable garb seen in portraits of her elite contemporaries, such as Isabel de Valois (fig.29) and the anonymous noblewoman (fig.30) painted by Sofonisba Anguissola and Alonso Sánchez Coello, respectively. In one entry, Sarmiento de la Cerda is described as owning a black cloth dress with sleeves, and lined with black taffeta ('Un sajo de rasa negra aforrado en tafetan negra con mangas…').[98] She is also described as possessing a pair of black slashed taffeta sleeves lined in white linen ('Unas mangas de tafetan negro picado aforrado en lienzo blanco…') and a pair of undersleeves adorned with scarlet silk ('unas manguillas…de seda carmesi…').[99]

As Sarmiento de la Cerda's inventory illustrates, the female wardrobe of the Spanish elite could be highly adorned and complex in structure. It included a linen undershirt (*camisa*), an underskirt (*faldellín*), a stomacher (*abanino*) and a farthingale (*verdugado*) for undergarments. The Spanish farthingale, known as the *verdugado*, was a conical-shaped petticoat whose skeleton comprised six yards of cloth (at 22 inches wide), strung together with rings (*verdugos*) of wood or whalebone.[100] The *verdugado* had been in fashion since 1530 when it was originally worn exposed during the reign of Charles V, as illustrated in a drawing of

potential capabilities in warfare. See: A. Marozzo, *Opera Nova dell'Arte delle Armi* (1536), f.20r; L. P. Narváez. *Libro de las grandezas de la espada* (1600), f.127r.

[97] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.288, D.60-61: 'Documentación relativa al pleito que Brianda [Sarmiento] de la Cerda, mujer de Francisco [López] de Zúñiga, ambos [IV] duques de Béjar, interpuso a su hijastro Francisco Diego López de Zúñiga, [V] duque de Béjar, sobre los inventarios de bienes que se hicieron tras la muerte del primero'

[98] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.288, D.60-61, f.24r.

[99] SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.288, D.60-61, ff.24r-24v.

[100] Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion*, p.7.

Spanish dancers dated 1540 (fig.31). It is believed to have been introduced into the English court by Catherine of Aragon when she wed Henry VIII in 1509. It later transitioned into the role of discreet under-garment during Philip's rule. Two types of cloth of differing weights were typically used to craft the *verdugado*, and often in a variety of colours which harked back to its previous use as an outer-garment.[101] Laden down by silk or velvet skirts, jerkins and the stiff architecture of the *verdugado,* the quantity and weight of the textiles needed to construct a woman's outfit meant that her movement would have been limited.

Atop her *verdugado*, a second layer was added comprising a jerkin (fig.32), similar in style to the male *jubón* yet longer at the front to create the impression of a flattened torso, a skirt (*basquiña* or *saya*) worn atop, with a final layer of a sleeved gown (*galera*, fig.33), hooped sleeves (*mangas redondas*), and a shawl (*rebozo*). It is likely that the structure of the *verdugado* would have influenced the evolution of Spanish skirt styles during the course of the mid- to late-sixteenth century. Pattern designs and hem-lengths during this period testify to a change in skirt silhouettes which may have been put into motion by the conical framework below. When worn, *verdugados* typically raised the front half of the *saya* whilst lowering the back. It is of little coincidence, therefore, that we see the introduction of longer trains (*faldas*) with shorter, front hem-lines that have been pinned up, in visual sources such as the portrait of the Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela (fig.34).[102] The pinning of hem-lines was also purportedly intended to allow the wearer to hide small objects within her outfit, such as a needle and thread.[103]

Spanish noblewomen also wore Spanish hooped sleeves known as either *mangas redondas* or *mangas de punta*. *Mangas redondas*, as found in an extant woman's ensemble from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig.36), and seen in Cesare Vecellio's drawings (figs.37-38) and Bartolomé González y Serrano's portrait of Queen Ana (fig.39) were a type of short 'hooped' sleeve commonly worn during Philip's reign. They were slashed horizontally with the lower half of the sleeve sewn up to expose the wearer's decorative undersleeves

[101] Herrero García, *Estudios,* pp.286-293.
[102] A later court portrait of Isabel Clara Eugenia, this time as the Archduchess of Austria (fig.35) shows the *verdugado* at work again, forcing the heavy silk brocade of the *saya* into a rigid cone-shape and revealing its raised hem.
[103] It is more likely, however, that this raised hemline was intended as a necessary precaution to prevent the wearer from falling over. See: Herrero García, *Estudios*, p.231; C. Bernis; A. Descalzo, 'Spanish Female Dress in the Habsburg Period' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.48-50.

(*manguillas*). Depending upon the wearer's taste, these sleeves could be partially fastened along the front edges, either horizontally or vertically, to different effect. Pointed sleeves, known as *mangas de punta,* were worn stitched together at the top of the sleeve during the first half of the century and later, during Philip's reign, were joined at the wrists.[104] Examples of such sleeves can be seen in the Milanese tailor's book *Il Libro del Sarto* (fig.40) as well as in Alonso Sánchez Coello's painting of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia (fig.41).

Both sexes wore wide ruffs (*cuellos*) atop their high-necked doublets which, in the words of Reade, gave the 'effect of detaching the head from the torso entirely'.[105] On their feet, they wore long boots (*botas*) for men and platform clogs (*chapines*) for women.[106] Contrary to the rest of the Spanish dress, decorative adornments such as cosmetics, jewellery, perfumed gloves, hats and hairstyles were, according to Bernis, 'the elements of female dress that suffered the most notorious changes' during Philip's reign.[107] Many of these adornments tended to be used by married or noble women who wore their hair curled and pulled into a peak at the top of their heads, with their ears exposed. Feathered velvet hats, as favoured by the Infanta Catalina Micaela, were commonly worn (fig.42) as well as elaborate headdresses decorated with gold, gemstones, pearls and feathers. The most typically 'Spanish' element of all this headwear was the *toca de cabos,* an elaborate headpiece that covered the wearer from the crown the head to the nape of the neck and finally, to the chest where it met at a pendant (fig.43). Hairstyles expanded over the course of the century, with Philip's fourth wife, Ana de Austria, inspiring a trend amongst the Spanish nobility for parted hair (fig.44) and, later, more voluminous styles which generated a need for larger hats and jewels. Both sexes wore covered buttons or pointed metallic fastenings hung from aglets which were used to secure their clothing (figs.45-46).[108]

Of all these items, the round-cut cloak, hooped Spanish sleeve and *verdugado* received the widest acclaim outside of the Iberian Peninsula, with Guaman Poma de Ayala recording in his *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (fig.47) instances of Spanish settlers wearing Spanish garb in the Viceroyalty of Peru.[109] Extant inventories belonging to three nobles, Captain Alonso

[104] Herrero García, *Estudios,* pp.294-298.
[105] Reade, *Costume of the Western World,* p.10.
[106] Reade, *Costume of the Western World,* p.10.
[107] Bernis. 'La moda en la España', p.100.
[108] Bernis, 'La moda en la España', pp.106-108; Herrero García, *Estudios,* pp.359-378.
[109] As Hyatt Mayor has suggested, Spanish pattern books such as Juan de Alcega's *Geometria, pratica y traça…*(1580), which I discuss in depth later, may have been inspired by a desire to, 'standardize the dress of

de Lobrera, Doña Mayor de Arango, and Maria de Pomar show that Spanish dress made its way to St Augustine in Florida too. Lobrera's wardrobe contained a pair of worn Cordoban leather shoes, whilst Arango possessed four Cordoban doublets, a 'fine long coat of Segovia cloth', and a 'fine cape of black Segovia cloth'; and Pomar owned a pair of Valencian clogs.[110] Closer to home, the 'Spanish style' of dressing was propagated in Spain's local dominions, particularly in Italy and the Netherlands where the courts were under Spanish influence. In the Spanish Netherlands, Philip's daughter, the devoutly Catholic Isabel Clara Eugenia, wore her Spanish garb until her widowhood in 1621, posing for diplomatic portraits in Spanish *verdugados* and *galleras* (gowns) at a time when her contemporaries were wearing the more fashionable dress of France.[111] In Italy, consumers often enjoyed the liberty of picking and choosing which elements of Spanish dress to incorporate into their own national attire. Milanese women, for example, were known for adding their own twist on the 'Spanish style' by wearing excessive jewels and embroidery.[112] The Spanish style of dressing also made its way out of Spain's dominions: Spanish-style ensembles, made entirely in sombre black fabrics, travelled to Sweden where they were worn by diplomats at the court of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32) in the early seventeenth century.[113] In the Hungarian court of Rudolf II, too, the Spanish tailor Juan Biscaino was employed (1576-1580) to make numerous garments 'in the Spanish fashion', where he created a garish livery of yellow and black-striped Spanish cloaks (fig.48).[114] As this thesis will examine at greater length, the English court under Mary and Elizabeth, too, wore a remarkable amount of Spanish garb and even licensed Spanish craftsmen

Spanish officialdom the world over' as, he continues, '[it was] quite possible that, before the Armada, the Spanish Crown may have been interested in publishing patterns that would help Spaniards in all climates to dress alike. Whatever the reasons behind Alcega's book, its patterns for cloaks and doublets and trunk hose must have brought a touch of home to many a lonely empire builder'. See: H. Mayor, 'Renaissance Costume Books', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 37:6 (1942), pp.158-159.

[110] E. Lyon, *Richer than We Thought: The Material Culture in 16th Century St Augustine* (Florida, 1992), pp.68; 71; 76; 77.

[111] E. E. S. Gordenker, 'Isabel Clara Eugenia at the Court of Brussels', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), p.125.

[112] The appropriation and reinterpretation of Spanish trends to suit personal tastes does not necessarily suggest a waning of interest in Spanish fashions in the dominions, but rather the adoption of the 'Spanish silhouette' as a popular benchmark upon which to develop new styles. See: G. Butazzi, 'Il modello spagnolo nella moda europea' in A. G. Cavagna; G. Butazzi (eds.) *Le Trame della moda* (Rome, Bulzoni, 1995), pp.80-94; P. Venturelli, 'Spanish Fashion among Women of Milan and Mantua (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries'in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.87-88; G. Guarani, 'Spanish Fashions and Sumptuary Legislation in Habsburg Italy' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), p.236; F. Saxl, 'Costumes and Festivals in Milanese Society under Spanish Rule' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXIII (London, 1937), pp.401-456.

[113] Rangström, 'Swedish Lions', pp.189-192.

[114] M. Hajná, 'Spanish Fashion in the Kingdom of Bohemia under Rudolf II (1552-1612)', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), p.214-221.

to reside in London and manufacture Spanish textiles and leather goods to feed the English demand for Iberian wares.

Cutting a Fine Figure at Court: Spanish Tailors and Seamstresses

Whilst most European men and women wore the same basic dress components during this period, cultural distinctions between national styles were characterised by their sometimes patent, although oftentimes subtle differences in cut and construction. Costume books, such as Vecellio's *De Gli Antichi Habiti* (1590), Francois Deserp's *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (1562), Joost Amman's *Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum* (1577), and Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (1577-1639), which provided a taxonomy of global clothing, allowed consumers to access a plethora of local and foreign dress styles that informed their own sartorial habits. As discussed, Spanish fashions most notably differed from other European clothing in their popular use of round-cut capes, *verdugados*, hooped sleeves, and wide ruffs. However, many of these garments assumed a 'Spanish' aesthetic as a result of the manner in which they were cut and assembled by their makers.

There existed two types of 'makers' at the Spanish court: the self-made courtiers who fashioned their image through clothes, comportment and material 'things', and the artificers, or *artesanos* as they were known, who cut, stitched and designed sartorial masterpieces fit for the royal family and their noble peers. These self-fashioned bodies were fabricated in cloth, thread and jewels, by a team of tailors, seamstresses, milliners and hosiers responsible for crafting jewellery, gloves, hats, furniture upholstery and horse trappings. With the exception of Philip's palace-monastery, El Escorial, where a specialised embroidery workshop was created in 1584, clothing workshops were not fully established at court until the seventeenth century. The Escorial embroidery workshop served primarily to clothe the Hieronymite friars – the favoured religious order of the Spanish monarchy – who resided at the palace-monastery.[115] Their liturgical vestments were crafted by skilled embroiderers, including fray

[115] By the late 1600s, their numbers totalled 150 with '50 more in the Colledge, and as many more Seculars in the Seminary, either Graduates or Under Graduates'. See: F. de los Santos, *Descripción breue del monasterio de S.Lorenzo el Real del Escorial…* (1667), p.4.

Lorenzo de Montserrat who adorned chasubles and copes in the style of design-work by Miguel Barroso and Diego Lopez de Escuriaz.[116]

The model of the Burgundian court proved a major stimulus in the organisation of the Spanish Royal Wardrobe too, as well as the manufacture and maintenance of clothing during Philip's reign.[117] Superior officers of the royal wardrobe included the *sumiller de corps*, who oversaw the cost, design and execution of royal apparel, and the tailors (perhaps the most prized staff within the royal household) who received significant privileges, including a horse and two servants when travelling, a daily wage of nine *plaças*, and extra commission constructing individual garments.[118] These tailors typically worked for six months at a time, during which period they enjoyed close proximity to the monarchs and were welcomed, upon order of the *sumiller de corps*, into the royal apartments to advise their patrons upon their sartorial choices.[119] They were accompanied by a vast assemblage of craftsmen, including furriers, hosiers, shoe-makers, embroiderers, milliners, cord-makers, button-makers, glove-makers, perfumers and seamstresses.[120]

Knowledge of the court tailors can be gleaned from employment histories listed in the royal personnel files and *Etiquetas de Palacio*, at the Archivo de Simancas and the Archivo General de Indias. However, these administrative documents are often sparse in nature and fail

[116] The enormity of their textile production is expressed in Francisco de los Santos' travel account dated 1671: 'The Brocade Vestments, and others of Silk, and Cloath of Gold and Silver, are 213. Of all varieties of Colours. The Casullas, or Vestments for the Priests to say Mass in, belonging to all the Altars, are above twelve hundred; the Dalmaticks to be for the same use, are one hundred: And when we mention here all the Altars, we mean, not only those of the Church but also all the rest generally throughout the House, which are in number 70. The Mangas worn in representation of our Saviours Bonds, and used in Processions, are seven and twenty. The fine Linnen employed in Divine Services for surplices, Roquets, Altar-Cloaths, Towels, & c. though exceeding much, yet is never more than what is spent on necessity for Sacred Uses; and still in plain truth, there is not so rich and plentiful a Furniture to be found in any other place besides this in the world.' See: F. de los Santos, *A description of that vvonder of the vvorld for architecture and magnificence of structure: built by K.Philip the IId of Spain, and lately consumed by fire* (1671), pp.15-16; J. Bury, *El Escorial: eighth marvel of the world* (Madrid, 1967), pp.195-206.
[117] M. J. García Sierra, 'Who Dressed Kings and Queens? Royal Wardrobe and Court Tailors' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.113-115.
[118] García Sierra, 'Who Dressed Kings and Queens?', p.116.
[119] Individual tailors were employed for the king, queen and the infantas, the ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour (whose dress would emulate, in cheaper fashion, that of the queen), the treasury, the stables, hunt and fowlers, the pages and servants, and, the dramatists of the Theatre Royal.
[120] Shoe-makers worked for the court, the stables and the pages, and embroiderers served the monarchs and each of their royal stables. Seamstresses occupied the one female role within the entire royal wardrobe; they provided bedding and table linens for the royal household, and sewed undergarments. This gender-bias amongst the royal artisans is documented in both the royal personnel files, which abound with lists of male employees, and in early pattern books which include garments made by men, such as doublets and farthingales, but omit items such as smocks and ruffs made by women. Tailoring was held on a par with high art and women were considered too 'ill-equipped' to aspire to such a privileged role. See: García Sierra, 'Who Dressed Kings and Queens?', pp.113-127.

to elucidate the lived experiences of the craftsmen at work or the garments upon which they laboured. Christina Hoffman has compiled a quantitative survey and transcription of these documents, allowing for Philip's royal household, from the years 1548 to 1567, to be pieced together.[121] These transcriptions demonstrate the far-reach of Philip's personnel in terms of both trade and quantity, revealing that he was often assisted by vast numbers of craftsmen from the seemingly innocuous (button-makers) to the utmost essential (tailors and keepers of the wardrobes). In 1548 for instance, when Philip was still a prince, his household comprised 227 staff, including a cord-maker, tailor, shoe-maker, leather-worker, and eight spurs makers.[122] Another staff list from the same year reveals that Philip later employed a hosier, seamstress and button-maker to accompany his staff.[123] Over a decade later, this personnel expanded once more to include a keeper of the wardrobe and jewels, plus four assistants, one furrier and his assistant, a tailor to his Majesty (*sastre de la Persona de su Majestad*), as well as tapestry-makers and maids-of-honour to help dress Philip's then-wife, Isabel de Valois.[124]

Whilst most tailors learnt the tricks of the trade during an apprenticeship, they also relied upon other tools to facilitate the making of the Spanish wardrobe. In 1580, the Spanish pattern-maker Juan de Alcega published his highly influential pattern book, *Geometria, pratica y traça* (fig.49) which was reprinted in 1589 and emulated by Spanish pattern-makers Diego de Freyle, Rocha de la Burguen and Martin de Anduxar.[125]Alcega's *Geometria, pratica y traça* was an 89 page-long tome comprising 81 patterns for silk and cloth garments fit for the Spanish elite. As designs sanctioned by Hernán Gutiérrez and Juan López de Burgette – the royal tailors to the Princess of Portugal and the Duke of Alba – these patterns received the royal stamp of approval and were drawn up in accordance with sumptuary legislation issued by the Crown. They offered much-needed guidance to the tailor who was tasked with creating garments that

[121] C. Hofmann, *Das Spanish Hofzeremoniell von 1500-1700* (Frankfurt/New York, 1985), pp.200-276.
[122] AGS Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg.35, f.25.
[123] AGP Sección Histórica, Caja 113.
[124] Administrative sources in the Archivo General de Palacio shine a light upon the gendered roles of tailors. Certain surnames repeatedly appear in generational gaps thereby suggesting that these crafts were taught and passed down from father to son. The Valencia family, for example, had a long-standing tradition in shoe-making and worked under royal patronage from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. See: AGS Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg.52, num.1, f.153r; AGS Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg.53, ff.363-366; García Sierra, 'Who Dressed Kings and Queens?', p.120.
[125] J. de Alcega. (1580) *Geometria, pratica y traça…* J. Pain; C. Bainton; J. L. Nevinson (trans.; intro.) (Bedford, 1979), p.10; D. de Freyle, *Geometria y traça para el oficio de los sastres: para que sepan como an de cortar qualesquier generos de ropas, assi de seda, como de paño, tela de oro y de plata, lanilla, y rajeta batanada, y de otra qualquier tela, assi para hombres, como para mugeres, clerigos y frayles* (Madrid, 1588); F. de la Rocha Burguen, Geometria y *traça perteneciente al oficio de sastres* (Valencia, 1618); M. de Anduxar, *Geometria y traças pertinecientes al oficio de sastres. Donde se contiene el modo y orden de cortar todo gênero de vestidos* (Madrid, 1640)

could showcase an expensive taste for luxury textiles and tailoring, whilst simultaneously adhering to economic and legal restrictions.[126] As Alcega acknowledges in his preface, one of the major challenges facing the Spanish tailor was the discrepancy between regional and national measurements which often led to overspending or fabric wastage:

> Many journeymen of this Art [of tailoring] who do not know how to convert so many [units] of wide cloth into so many of narrower woollen or other material have been seen to ask for the wrong amount of woollen or silk cloth, or other material of a different width, to make the garments which have been ordered from them. And when they come to cut out the garments they find they have too little or too much.[127]

To aid the tailor, Alcega instated the Castilian *ell* or *vara* (which was the equivalent of 84cm) as a universal measurement and employed a system of symbols (shown in figs.50-51) to indicate how many *ells* of fabric were to be used.[128] The symbol 'Q', for example, represents a quarter of an *ell* or the equivalent of the average hand-span and would have presumably allowed the tailor to quickly and efficiently measure his fabric using only the palm of his hand.

For the more resourceful tailor or miserly patron, unable to afford new luxury textiles on the market, there were alternative means to constructing garments. Prior to the development of mass-productive industries, many garments were often re-sewn into new items of clothing to keep up with changing trends and consumer demands.[129] This type of recycling allowed for multiple garments to be subsumed into one piece and it was not uncommon for large garments such as men's cloaks to be made from women's skirts. The cloak in figure 52, for instance, is believed to have been crafted from a ladies petticoat made in red Italian velvet with a palmate pattern, a cream satin ground, and a yellow linen lining. Despite its seemingly fine execution, this cloak is an assemblage of scrap fabrics: its collar has been haphazardly patched together using tail-end pieces of velvet and its stitches camouflaged by yellow satin and cream cord

[126] Alcega, *Geometria, pratica y traça*, p.9.
[127] Alcega, *Geometria, pratica y traça*, p.17.
[128] This unit of measurement, Alcega explains, 'is divided into a twelfth, an eighth, a sixth, a quarter, a third, and a half *ell*: and all these divisions of the *ell* are perfect fractions relative to the *ell* itself', should the tailor be confronted with an uneven proportion of fabric, he would only need to round down to an even or 'perfect' fraction to gauge how much fabric he required. See: Alcega, *Geometria, pratica y traça*, p.17.
[129] Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion*, p.2.

embroidery. This Spanish craftsmanship suggests a rather alarming 'make-do' attitude to tailoring at a time when Europe's elite were coveting after luxurious clothing.

Thus, recycled garments, such as this cloak, challenge the ways in which we think about the European consumption of luxury garments during the early modern era. We often assume that for clothes to be deemed luxurious by the upper classes they needed to be one of a kind, crafted from new fabrics, and coloured with bolder and brighter dyes. However, as many surviving garments illustrate, this was often not the case. Household accounts and inventories reveal how garments were often repurposed by present owners, or handed down to new wearers (oftentimes children or house servants) in wills. The remodelling of second-hand clothing had a distinctly practical function as, whilst luxury textiles themselves were expensive, the labour needed to alter them was cheap.[130] Once purchased, these textiles could potentially have a long life-span with their continual upgrade allowing them to transition from a monarch's gown to a courtier's cloak, or even to a handmaiden's skirt.[131] As Alcega's standardised pattern designs demonstrate, in the Iberian Peninsula, new and novel garment designs were not necessarily on the agenda as Spanish fashions remained largely unchanged for the duration of Philip's reign. If anything, these pattern designs responded to a growing concern amongst consumers regarding the costs of textiles and fabric wastage during the construction process, as well as a reaction to the lengthy dyeing processes that had inflated textiles costs.

Out with the Old (World), in with the New: American Dyestuffs for a Spanish Market

The 'Spanish silhouette' owed its desirability as much to its distinctive Spanish cut and construction as to its foreign American materials. Long-lasting, colour-fast dyes and hardy, rich fabrics became extremely desirable commodities on the Spanish market due to the proliferating international trade of textiles and colorants. The trans-Atlantic exchange of plants and dyestuffs between America and Europe was put into motion by Christopher Columbus' discoveries in the late fifteenth century. Raw materials such as dyestuffs, which were previously used in the manufacture of Pre-Colombian textiles, were now traded into Spain and Europe. Second only to the trade of noble metals, such as silver and gold, these natural materials signalled a new age in textiles technologies in the Old World, allowing Spanish dyers

[130] J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988), p.xiv.
[131] B. Bastl, 'Clothing the Living and the Dead: Memory, Social Identity and Aristocratic Habit in the Early Modern Habsburg Empire', *Fashion Theory*, 5:2 (2001), pp.371-372.

and craftsmen to create new pigments and colour raw textiles in a more intensive way than before.[132]

The colour black has long-been perceived as synonymous with the Spanish wardrobe (figs.53-54). Many scholars credit its popularity at Philip's court with its supposed symbolic virtues of religious asceticism and its association with Charles V's sombre clothing choices. Others posit that Spanish black harked back to the dress habits of the Burgundian Philip the Good, who founded the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430 and instated black garb as its uniform.[133] Indeed, along with their strict Burgundian ceremonials, the Spaniards' liking for black clothing is frequently described as one of their defining sartorial features in contemporary eye-witness accounts. In his record of Mary's accession in 1553, for instance, the Spanish ambassador and merchant Antonio de Guarras described how several merchants joined the English royal procession dressed 'in superb costume, wearing suits of black velvet lined, beautifully trimmed with many points of gold, and garnished all round with embroidery of more than a palm in width. And they also wore mantles of black velvet'.[134] Earlier descriptions of Charles V mention his black clothing: in 1536, Grazietta Butazzi recalled how the emperor arrived in Siena wearing 'a very simple suit, and a jerkin of black velvet'.[135] The Spanish nobility also donned black velvets and silks because they best showcased their jewellery and more colourful items of clothing. Queen Isabel de Valois, for instance, willingly championed darker colours and was depicted by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz in 1605 wearing red sleeves, gold chains, and a pallid complexion offset by a black gown (fig.55). An earlier portrait by of Ana de Austria by Anthonis Mor (fig.56), also illustrates how colours and textures were manipulated to fashion a striking, yet harmonious appearance. In this image, Ana's corn-coloured hair, her yellow-gold chains and saffron doublet and aglets create a sharp contrast to her black silk and velvet gown.[136]

[132] Phipps, 'Global Colours', pp.122; 131-132.
[133] J. L. Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.77-81.
[134] A. de Guarras, *The Accession of Queen Mary: Being the Contemporary Narrative of Antonio de Guarras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London – Primary Source Edition* (London, 1892), pp.117-118.
[135] As Philip's reign progressed, he too increasingly preferred simpler, darker clothing. See: G. Butazzi (n.d) cited in Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image', p.81; Bouza (ed.), *Cartas*, p.43.
[136] As well as its aesthetic qualities, this use of silk would have also had its other, more sanitary benefits: silk linings were often attached to garments as deterrents to fleas. See: Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court', p.170; Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', p.170.

This Spanish trend for black garb was spurred on by the trans-Atlantic trade of Campeche logwood from Mexico which yielded a popular blue-black dye. Previously, black dyes had been created in Spain by either mixing multiple colours or using tannin-rich plants to produce a brown-black dye known commonly as *ala de mosca* (fly's wing).[137] By contrast, Campeche logwood was a red-coloured wood which, when chipped, boiled and fermented, gave off an intense blue-black colorant known as *ala de cuervo* (crow's wing).[138] It was believed to be the most saturated shade of black and was popularly consumed by Philip's court who sought to showcase their good taste for foreign, luxury goods. Owing to its desirability amongst Spain's elite classes, strict legal requirements were put in place to govern its manufacture.[139] In a pragmatic from 1552, for instance, dyers were ordered to seal their fabrics with a blue dye (*celeste de azul*) prior to dying them black or else face a fine of 10,000 *maravedís* and be suspended from their trade for four years.[140] This pragmatic tells us that some dyers were taking advantage of the high demand for *ala de cuervo* colorants by producing black fabrics that were substandard yet still marketable, and it also shows that there existed a black market for black dyes.[141]

There exist various speculations as to why the colour black gained so much currency amongst the Spanish nobility, and whether it held a special symbolic significance for its wearers.[142] The role of black as a colour that stood-out rather than receded has been examined by Hollander who considers it first as an 'anti-fashion' in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century

[137] Neither technique was efficient as they weakened the fibres and left a putrid stench.
[138] Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image', p.93.
[139] According to one pragmatic in 1552, for every pound of silk that was to be dyed black, the dyer was required to pour a mixture of 10 ounces of ground white indigo-berry, two ounces of copper sulphate, and two ounces of Arabic gum onto the silk to ensure its concentrated saturation. See: Anon, *Título de las ordenanças que los muy Ilustres y muy magníficos Señores [sic] Granada mandan que se guarden para la Buena governación de su República. Las cuales mandaron imprimir para que todos las sepan y las guarden* (Granada, 1552), p.2.
[140] Anon, *La pregmática del obraje de los paños ansi bervis como de todas las otras suertes de paños que en estos Reynos se suelen hacer, y que lana y colores an de llevar y como se an de texer, y tundir y acabar perfectamente, y quien y como se han de elegir los veedores tocantes a los quatro officios de los paños, y la pena que an de tener qualquiera que fuere contra esta pregmática, la cual hizo el Principe nuestro Señor en las cortes que tuvo en la villa de Madrid, año MDLII* (Alcala de Henares, 1552), pp.35-36.
[141] Another ordinance suggests so too: in 1552, it was ordered that a fine of 10,000 maravedís should be given to any dyer who used sumac or cascara on dark-coloured silks and a further 6,000 maravedís and 30 days imprisonment for any dyer who was found to possess these materials in his home. Dyers could also be fined for keeping the poisonous arsenic, orpiment (an orange-coloured arsenic sulphide mineral), or argent stone in their private residences as they jeopardised the quality and condition of their fabrics. In all of Valencia, only two apothecaries were allowed to keep these materials. See: Anon, *Título de las ordenanças*, p.21; Anon, 'Capítulo CLXX. Sobre tintes y pigmentos en malas condiciones' in *Furs, capitols, provisions, e actes de cort, fets y atorgats per la S.C.R.M. Del rey Don Phelip nostre senyor en la vila de Monço, en lo any M.D.LXXXV* (Cortes de Monzón, 1585), p.23.
[142] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.367.

Europe and later as a 'craze' in sixteenth-century Spain and Northern Europe. On describing Philip the Good's use of black, at a time when few individuals wore dark clothing, she states: 'When [he] first appeared completely dressed in black among his peacock courtiers, he must have looked both ascetic and satanic'.[143] Visual sources from the period also reveal the striking impact black clothing might have had: El Greco's *Dream of Philip II* (fig.57) and Antoine Caron's tapestry featuring Catherine de' Medici (fig.58) show the reigning monarch dressed in black garb amongst a sea of colour. Whilst Catherine's black highlights her distinguished presence and status within a mass of nameless courtiers, Philip's black, punctuated by white ruffs around his neck and wrists, contrasts with the exaggerated, festive dress of his surrounding clergy. Shown praying at Christ's Last Judgement, Philip's black paints him as a humble man of modest means.

There are other possible reasons why Philip and his court promoted the use of black. As Entwistle theorises, 'dress is fundamentally an inter-subjective and social phenomenon, an important link between individual identity and social belonging'; thus, it is plausible that by influencing a trend for black clothing amongst the nobility, Philip hoped to foster a collective identity for the Spanish court.[144] Wunder also argues that Spanish noblemen chose to collectively wear black so as to 'communicate their allegiance to the king by dressing like him'.[145] They could showcase their wealth, she continues, in the more colourful, bejewelled and 'lavish dresses of [their] women and girls' as seen in the aforementioned *cartas*.[146] A collective Spanish identity can be glimpsed at, too, in El Greco's painting, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (fig.59), which depicts a gathering of the Order of Santiago whose members wear a livery of black garb. As Harvey argues, Philip's use of black may have been related to a desire to blend in with the mass of Inquisition officials, thereby allowing him to rule with a degree of omnipresence: '[Philip was] a monarch who might be mistaken, as he sometimes was, for a citizen or minor official or priest, but who could still, unseen, assert a power as frightening as that of his God'.[147] In Counter-Reformation Spain, religion and politics were intrinsically linked and Philip's attempts to propagate a trend for black garb could be

[143] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.367.
[144] J. Entwistle; E. B. Wilson, *Body Dressing (Dress, Body, Culture)* (New York/Oxford, 2001), p.47.
[145] A. Wunder, 'Dress' in E. Levy; K. Mills (eds.) *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque, Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation* (Austin, 2014), p.108.
[146] Wunder, 'Dress', p.108.
[147] J. Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago, 2005), p.76.

interpreted as a means of establishing a uniform nation brought together in faith and governance.

Whilst the significance of black dyes to the Spanish market is made visible in these contemporary paintings and legal sources, other colorants carried weight in the Spanish court. Contrary to popular opinion, black was by no means the only colour to be worn by the Spanish elite: as Davidson has found, shades of red, pink, yellow, green and white were also popularly worn amongst female courtiers.[148] A number of childhood portraits from the Spanish court show how early infanthood was marked by the donning of lighter colours and varying shades of brown, green and blue dyes, which had been extracted from the leaves of the *indigofera suffruticosa* and exported into the Spanish market from Guatemala and Mexico (figs.60-61).[149] As adolescents, the infantas were increasingly depicted in white clothing: in his portrait of Isabel Clara Eugenia, for instance, Alonso Sánchez Coello paints the young Isabel in a white and gold satin gown embroidered with geometric patterns (fig.62). A number of extant women's ensembles from this period also reveal a more welcome approach to alternative colours, including moss-coloured skirts and bodices (fig.63) and orange-red gowns (fig.64).

'Spanish red', obtained from the Mexican cochineal beetle, was another fiercely popular colorant that enjoyed a successful trade during the sixteenth century. In its hey-day, cochineal red became an important marker of social status in Spain, being used primarily as a colorant for elite and liturgical clothing, as seen in a number of extant cloaks. Commonly known as 'grana', owing to their grain-like appearance, cochineal beetles were cultivated on prickly pear cacti and harvested by Mexican farmers (fig.65).[150] Approximately 25,000 wingless, female beetles were required to produce one pound of dye, whose intensity was the equivalent of 12 pounds of kermes, a type of red dye previously used in Britain.[151] Eclipsing all other red dyestuffs in Europe, cochineal quickly became, according to Raymond Lee, a symbol 'for brilliant, fast colors, Mexican wealth, and a tightly-guarded Spanish monopoly'.[152]

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[148] Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court', p.170.
[149] It was, however, inferior to the Asian *indigofera tinctoria* which yielded a more potent colorant. In 1558, Philip requested an account of the methods used by Guatemalan Indians to source these dyes and learnt that indigo dye could be achieved by soaking and fermenting the leaves in water from whence their dye particles would be 'beaten' to form a pulp and left to dry. See: G. Prance; M. Nesbitt (eds.), *The Cultural History of Plants* (New York/London, 2005), p.304; R. S. Smith, 'Indigo Production and Trade in Colonial Guatemala', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 39:2 (1959), pp.181-184.
[150] The manuscript illustration in figure 65 captures this lengthy process. See also: Phipps, 'Global Colours', pp.125-126.
[151] R. L. Lee, 'Cochineal Production and Trade in New Spain to 1600', *The Americas*, 4:4 (1948), pp.450-451.
[152] Lee, 'Cochineal Production', p.450.

These beetles were dried and shipped to Europe as either dye cakes or in loose form, where they were then crushed and placed into hot water with a mordant, usually a mineral salt such as alum, to help fix the colorant to the textile fibres. Often fabrics would be twice-dyed before applying a sealant to secure the red dye's saturation.[153] Depending upon the quantity of dye used and the number of times it was applied, cochineal yielded varying degrees of red from the deepest scarlet (fig.66) to an orange-red hue, as illustrated in Isabel de Valois' gown painted by Sánchez Coello (figs.67-68). It was the latter shade that was perceived to be the 'best' red.[154]

As well as bearing symbolic significance, colour usage in Spanish dress was also highly practical. Hayward, in her article on the use of red at the court of Henry VIII, argues that colour needs to be read in terms of 'status, cost, social definition and also, on occasion, social uniformity and celebration, both secular and ecclesiastical'.[155] As mentioned above, Spanish black can be interpreted as providing both 'social uniformity' and 'social definition' on varying occasions; however, together with other coloured clothing, black garb was also used by the Spanish court to mark secular events. In her study of the infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, Pérez de Tudela has found that black, as a traditional mourning colour, was worn by the royal family during times of bereavement with flashes of colour slowly incorporated into the mourning dress until the wearer had undergone a total transition back into colour.[156] This was a gradual process which involved the tailor replacing items of black clothing with more colourful counterparts, or even slashing the sleeves of gowns to allow for

[153] A. Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade. 1500-1800* (London, 2013), pp.124-132.
[154] Such was the popularity of cochineal dye that it was often the target of fraudulent behaviour. Prior to being weighed, costed up and sold at market or shipped to Spain, cochineal supplies were inspected by vice-regal officials to check for any additional foliage or substances which may have been used to increase their bulk weight. By 1575, the level of cochineal adulteration was so high that the Viceroy Don Martín Enríquez passed an ordinance prohibiting the adding of unidentified mixtures to cochineal. Dried cochineal beetles were sifted to ensure that they were adequately-sized and any suppliers who were found to have killed the beetles by means other than drying were subject to either a fine of 20 pesos if they were Spanish settlers, or 100 lashes and a year-long exile if they were non-Spaniards. The negative impact of cochineal harvesting upon indigenous food crops was widespread and in 1553 the lords of Tlaxcala filed a complaint to their municipal council regarding the injurious and 'sinful' consequences of cochineal commercialisation. Farmers were said to 'devote themselves to their cochineal on Sundays' and cochineal dealers and owners alike were accused of having 'much money, cacao, and clothing'. See: AGI Patronato, 182, R.50, ff.1-18; 20; Lee, 'Cochineal Production', p.470; K. Mills; W. B. Taylor (eds.), *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington, DE, 1998), pp.91-92.
[155] M. Hayward, 'Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII', *Textile History*, 38:2 (2007), p.136.
[156] A. Pérez de Tudela, 'Costume at the Court of Philip II, Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), p.337.

different coloured undershirts to show through.[157] Inventories pertaining to the princesses' royal wardrobe, too, reveal that, unlike their father, their clothes often embraced a spectrum of colours worn for differing occasions. In the year 1579 alone, for instance, the infantas were made two black ribbed-silk gowns adorned with velvet and satin and two red satin gowns, as well as various green taffeta gowns, slashed black satin gowns, slashed black taffeta gowns, blue damask gowns, brown gowns, white satin bodices and red satin bodices.[158] It is possible that black became an increasingly popular and pliant colour as it was better suited to the wear-and-tear of daily life, with more brightly-coloured garments being adorned for special events or younger years. Irrespective of their usage, coloured clothes that made use of new, long-lasting and saturated dyestuffs signified wealth and contributed to the English, and European, ideation of Spain as a leader of sartorial trends in the sixteenth century.

'From the Indies, Silver, from Castile, Cloth': Textiles Manufacturing in Spain and the Americas

The textiles that the Spanish elite wore also spoke of the far-reach of Spain's imperial influence in the New World. Mexican and Chinese silks and embroideries made their way to Spain where they were eagerly consumed by the Spanish elite. Spain also benefitted from a domestic textile industry and trade with Europe which provided textiles for the Spanish populace that could be dyed with American colorants. Silks were the most desirable textiles during this period (figs.69-72): initially raised in Murcia and Granada, the silk industry was introduced into Spain by the Arabic populace where the geometric patterns of Hispano-Moresque patterns enjoyed a long-lasting popularity until the late fifteenth century.[159] Italy quickly superseded Spain as the producer of fine silks, however, with prosperous textiles centres located in Venice, Florence and Rome, and Italian silk-weavers and velvet-makers began to settle in Valencia and Catalonia providing a much-needed boost to the floundering Spanish industry. Here, they influenced local artisans and textiles designs, including the

[157] Indeed, Davidson argues that, in the Spanish court, 'colourful' garments were 'worn in private or below the outer layer' of clothing, in 'plain satins, damasks and velvets'. See: Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish court', p.170.
[158] The aforementioned *cartas* too reveal young women and girls wearing colourful clothing whilst their parents dress in black. See also: P. de Tudela, 'Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela', p.336.
[159] Wunder, 'Dress', p.107.

pomegranate pattern, and introduced new manufacturing technologies in the way of weaving looms.[160]

By the mid-sixteenth century, Toledo was the primary producer of silk textiles to the Spanish court and, along with Valencia, created velvet fabrics to rival those made in Genoa.[161] The similarities between Spanish and Italian velvets manufactured during this time meant that it was often difficult to distinguish their provenance, and their weight and weave dictated their value.[162] In Charles V's *Ordenanzas del Gremio de Tejedores de Toledo* (1534), for instance, the best quality silk-textiles were considered to be the heaviest. Black velvets (*terciopelo negro*) were the richest and finest textiles, weighing six ounces per vara (roughly 84cm), whilst the poorest textiles were plain coloured taffetas (*tafetán de color*) which weighed 11 drams per vara. Patterned silks and velvets were more popular amongst the female elite with male courtiers preferring plain textiles.[163] Second to silk-raising, Spanish Merino and Burgalese wool were two of Spain's finest textile products, having been patronised by the Crown in Castile since the fifteenth century. Used primarily for winter clothing, these wools were often woven together with linen or silk to craft luxurious outer-garments such as cloaks for the upper classes, or used to dress the middling and lower classes (fig.73). They were also popularly received overseas, particularly amongst wealthy English consumers, as I discuss in Chapter Two. Linen and cotton arrived in Spain from Asia and the Low Countries, too, where they were used for making simple under-garments, such as embroidered chemises (fig.74), summer clothing and the signature Spanish ruff.[164]

Whilst these domestic industries provided the Peninsula with a steady stream of home-grown textiles, Spain's role within the global dissemination of 'New World' textiles into Europe was substantial. Spanish America, which by the second half of the sixteenth century was annexed to the Philippines and comprised the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain, became a powerful nexus of trans-Pacific and -Atlantic trade.[165] According to Wunder, the signs of this

[160] Wunder, 'Dress', p.107; Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', pp.165-171.
[161] Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', p.170; Herrero García, *Estudios*, p.36.
[162] As Lucia Llorente Llorente observes, nowadays, the contemporary dress historian can discern the provenance of these textiles through microscopic examination. See: Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', p.171.
[163] Herrero García, *Estudios*, p.31.
[164] They were also used as linen or cotton wefts woven together with silk warps to create stronger and heavier fabrics. As Giorgio Riello has examined, in the far-reaching trade of textiles during the early modern era it was the simple and understated cotton – which was harvested and woven in Asia – which formed a vital backbone to the dissemination of foreign produce and material wealth throughout the globe. See: G. Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge, 2013), p.2; Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', pp.167-169.
[165] Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', p.16.

global trade network can be read in the clothing of Philip II's fourth wife, Ana de Austria: in an engraving by Franz Huys (fig.75), for example, Ana's gown is shown to be constructed from local and foreign textiles, combining images of European pomegranates and artichokes with American pineapples. It is, Wunder argues, 'a rare example of an overt quotation from the Americas in Spanish dress'.[166] Indeed, since the earliest encounters with the New World, Spain had been the recipient of 'exotic' gift-giving in the form of American textiles and crafts that were sent by viceregal officials as tokens of Spain's bountiful colonies.[167] It was not long, however, before this *ad hoc* practice of gift-giving gave way to a more structured trans-Atlantic trade in foreign textiles which allowed for the regulated movement of Spanish, Mexican and Chinese textiles. As Leibsohn has found, Spanish America became a central locus in this network where trade with Europe and Asia responded to the demands of local markets in the viceroyalties too, rather than solely pander to the needs of European consumers. Silks, velvets, damasks, brocades and wools from Spain entered the viceroyalties at an astonishing rate, prompting the chronicler Poma de Ayala to write in his *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615): 'From the Indies, silver, from Castile, cloth'.[168] By the end of the sixteenth century, the quantity of Spanish cloths being exported annually into the Americas had exceeded six million reales in value. To meet consumer demands, and to prevent a drain in domestic textile supplies in Spain, efforts were also made to establish silk and wool farms in Mexico during the early sixteenth century, and Peruvian hemp and linen industries in 1545.[169]

However, Mexican silk-raising was largely eclipsed by the more alluring trade of luxury textiles from China into Europe.[170] The Manila-Acapulco trade route, which was founded by Philip in 1565 as a means of gaining access to China, ran between Spain's most easternmost colony in the Philippines and Mexico's Pacific-facing port.[171] By 1571, desirable silks from China were entering the market place in Mexico City having been transported in Manila Galleons and exchanged for Peruvian silver. Here, they were either sold to clothe the colony, or sent North or overland to the port of Veracruz to be shipped to Seville.[172] The Mexican

[166] Wunder, 'Dress', p.107.
[167] A. Russo, 'Cortés's objects and the idea of New Spain', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 23:2 (2011), p.229.
[168] Phipps, 'Global Colours', p.34.
[169] Phipps, 'Global Colours', pp.34-40.
[170] Phipps, 'Global Colours', p.35.
[171] Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II*, p.335; J. L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses* (Madison, 2010), p.7.
[172] The return journey from the Philippines to Acapulco in the Manila Galleons took around 7 months. See: M. Ladero Quesada, *El primer oro de América: los comienzos de la Casa de la Contratación de la Yndias, 1503-1511* (Madrid, 2002), p.9; Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', pp.16-19.

demand for these textiles was so high that, despite complaints that silk imports often arrived in dirty condition, nearly all members of the viceroyalty consumed these fabrics. To tap into this lucrative trade, Chinese makers began producing silks for the export market using Orientalized embroidery which satisfied a Hispanic taste for 'exotic' Eastern-ware.[173] One cloak belonging to Philip, now held at the Escorial, testifies to this profitable enterprise: as a liturgical garment intended for ceremonial use, this cloak ascribes to the highest quality of Chinese embroidery by using colourful Orientalised designs for flowers, birds and butterflies set against a white silk base (fig.76). Despite the success of the Manila-Acapulco trade route, towards the end of the sixteenth century Philip sought to dampen the trans-Pacific and Atlantic trade of Chinese silks for fear that the Spanish demand for foreign silks would cause a bullion drain and a loss of interest in local silks.[174] He voiced concern that if '[Chinese silk] trade continues, the trade in cloth exported from these [Spanish] realms would cease or be greatly decreased' and instated a new sumptuary legislation insisting that 'foreign textures are to be equal in weight and fineness to Spanish goods'.[175]

One benefit of this sartorially aspiring viceroyalty, and the Spanish nobility back home, was their eager consumption of metallic threads. Silver and gold embroidery, created using metallic silk thread, was considered the finest adornment to be applied directly to clothing. Its popularity emerged during the mid-sixteenth century when the consumption of Cyprian gold (*oropel*), which comprised strips of gold-powdered leather, had been prohibited in Spain.[176] Metallic thread, which was crafted in Spain using silver and gold imported from the Americas, was produced by first flattening the noble metals into sheets, then cutting the sheets into thin strips, and finally wrapping the metallic strips around a silk thread. These threads were sold in Spain, Europe and the American viceroyalties.[177] Examples of these threads can be seen in the border decorations of a Spanish *herreruelo* cloak (fig.77) and the embroidered motifs of a Spanish chasuble (fig.78). Embroidery designs generally matched those woven into fabrics such as damasks, brocaded silks and velvets comprising narrow vertical or diagonal patterns, which were believed to highlight the tailor's handiwork and skill when constructed into

[173] Leibsohn, 'Made in China, Made in Mexico', pp.23-24.
[174] C. Rahn Phillips, 'The growth and composition of trade in the Iberian empires, 1450-1750', in J. D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), p.90.
[175] Hume, 'A Fight against Finery (A History of Sumptuary Laws in Spain)', p.255.
[176] Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', p.167.
[177] Phipps, 'Global Colours', p.34.

elaborate clothing designs.[178] As these examples illustrate, the making of the 'Spanish silhouette' was a complex process and one which, owing to the provenance of many of the textiles used (Asia, the Americas, Europe and the Iberian peninsula), became a distinctly trans-Atlantic and -Pacific enterprise. Thus, whilst these textiles were used to construct a national Spanish style, they also served as a reminder of Spain's imperial presence overseas. For English, and European consumers, the Spanish wardrobe signified 'worldliness'.

Concluding Thoughts

It is of little coincidence that the global popularity of the 'Spanish silhouette' should emerge at a time when Spain's imperial presence was most widely felt in Europe and the New World. It is also of little surprise, given Spain's pre-eminence on the fashion scene, that the first ever pattern book should be Spanish and that Spanish clothing should incorporate textiles manufacturing processes from across the globe. Indeed, during the mid- to late-sixteenth century, Spain's dominions in Italy, the Netherlands, the Americas and Asia allowed for a vast and wide dissemination of Spanish fashions which were, in turn, fabricated from luxury textiles and dyestuffs cultivated in the Spanish viceroyalties and married with home-grown Iberian textiles. Distinct in style and colour, and known for its 'exotic' materials and worldly connotations, the 'Spanish silhouette' became a defining feature of the Spanish aristocrat and nobleman, and a vital component in the construction of elite Spanish identity. By casting a wide-net over a range of primary sources – including sumptuary legislations, conduct manuals, *cartas*, architectural plans, inventories, textiles and dyes ordinances, pattern and costume books, extant garments and portraiture – this chapter explores the making of both the elite Spanish wardrobe and its wearers, the 'ideal Spanish courtiers' and aristocrats, who engaged in self-fashioning programmes.

In nearly all early modern acts of self-fashioning, I argue, clothing constituted an important tool in the courtier's arsenal, used to exhibit his identity and secure his courtly role. In Philip's Spanish court, self-fashioning was a game of artifice and one which relied heavily on a workforce of craftsmen tasked with clothing, and thereby fabricating the courtly body. Externally to the court too, there existed a number of legal and literary, as well as ceremonial and sartorial ways of shaping, masking and controlling the individual's identity and outward

[178] These motifs included animals, small plants, leaves, sprigs, pomegranates or artichokes, and flowers such as carnations, roses and marguerites. See: Llorente LLorente, 'Textile Novelties', pp.173-179.

appearances. This chapter proffers an original and first study of the Spanish *carta* from an art historical viewpoint; thereby presenting new insight into the ways in which the Spanish elite used and manipulated visual and textual appendages (namely representations of luxury clothing, alongside images of coats-of-arms and biblical images) to legitimise and demonstrate their noble identity. In examining the *cartas*' concern with individualism, I argue that these legal manuscripts can also be read as an extension of a much larger cultural and social phenomenon relating to the conceptualisation of 'selfhood' in the sixteenth century, which yielded various literary and artistic products including autobiographies, portraiture and conduct literature.

This chapter also demonstrates how, in many respects, the 'ideal Spanish courtier' did not differ so much from his European peers – he too participated in courtly ceremonials, wore luxurious clothing, and read self-help books. However, what rendered his Spanish elite identity unique, I argue, was his twin interest in the notion of 'fixity'. This 'fixity' came in the form of the nobleman's Catholic lineage and purity of blood which, it was believed, could not simply be 'put on' or discarded like an old coat: his elite Spanish identity was determined and fixed from birth. And yet, as this chapter proves, in spite of this essentialist discourse, the Spanish nobility and aristocracy continued to engage in the 'artful manipulation' of self-fashioning by consuming Spanish conduct literature and wearing desirable clothing as a means of self-promoting and social climbing. They engaged in acts of self-fashioning, therefore, so as to anxiously promote, prove, and secure their noble status.

In examining the components of the male and female Spanish wardrobe, which were appropriated overseas in Spanish territories as well as in England, this chapter also revises a number of commonly held assumptions about the 'Spanish silhouette'. Using contemporary visual and textual sources such as *cartas,* inventories and portraiture, I argue against the popular myth that Philip's courtiers only wore black to reveal a significant demand for colourful garb at court (particularly amongst children and women) which relied upon the vast international trade of dyestuffs and the even larger trade in textiles. The prominent role of textiles as luxury commodities in the global trade of goods between Spain and the New World, is particularly telling of the centrality of dress to the self-fashioning of Philip, his court and his empire. With dyes imported from the Americas, textiles from Asia and Europe, and tailors from the continent, the running of the royal Wardrobe was also a colonial enterprise which heralded Spain's position as an imperial and Catholic global power. In a court such as Philip's, where

self-fashioning was paramount to the construction, display and maintenance of an elite Spanish identity, and in the promotion of Spain's public image as a global leader, these foreign and local textiles and dyestuffs were sewn into the very seams of Spanish aulic life and identity.

CHAPTER II

DISSEMINATING THE SPANISH MODEL: ANGLO-SPANISH TRADE RELATIONS

Spanish fashions were widely disseminated throughout the continent and empire in the mid- to late-sixteenth century. Whilst it comes as no surprise to hear that these fashions were popularly appropriated in the Spanish dominions, with the Italian and Dutch nobility especially trading in and consuming Spanish textiles and costume, Spanish garb could also be found in England. Two locally sourced products, Spanish Merino wool and Cordoban or *guadamecí* leather, were prized export goods and were imported into England and the Netherlands with great success. These Spanish wares were used primarily for the manufacture of felt hats, leather buskins, jerkins, cloaks, gloves and cushions, or were imported as ready-made Spanish garments for wealthy consumers. The sizeable presence of these textile goods in the sixteenth-century English household is worth investigating given the purportedly hostile relations between England and Spain, which have been the subject of historical debate in recent years, as well as the lack of scholarly attention to the exchange of luxury textiles between these two nations.[1] In spite of their periods of diplomatic unease, relations between England and Spain allowed for a

[1] Indeed, Barbara Fuchs argues that, 'the most important discovery of this new generation of scholarship is how sustained and widespread the connections are [between England and Spain] even at the moments of greatest conflict between the nations. In this sense, cultural studies provides a rich opportunity to challenge the historical verities of Anglo-Spanish enmity…England must negotiate Spain's cultural and intellectual influence even when it seems most reluctant or unlikely to do so', see: B. Fuchs, 'The Spanish Connection: Literary and Historical Perspectives on Anglo-Iberian Relations', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), p.1; R. Allison; G. Parker, 'A King and Two Queens: The holograph correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I' in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges. Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Surrey, 2015), pp.95-117; H. Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth-Century Seville' in C. A. Williams (ed.) *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products and Practices on the Move* (Surrey, 2009), pp.57-74; B. J. García García, 'Peace with England, from Convenience to Necessity, 1596-1604' in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), pp.135-150; M. de Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late Sixteenth Century' in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), pp.13-28; A. Samson, 'Power Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary' in A. Whitelock; A. Hunt (eds.) *Tudor Queenship* (New York, 2010), pp.159-172.

significant Anglo-Spanish trade of textiles and costume: this material exchange was nurtured early on in the inter-dynastic and Anglo-Spanish union of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon (m.1509); fortified with the marriage of Mary to Philip I of Austria (later King of Spain) in 1554; and prolonged throughout the reign of Elizabeth, even during the war years of 1585-1589.[2] Whilst the political underpinnings of this Anglo-Spanish 'friendship' were often tested, and certainly soured in the last two decades of the century, Spanish garments and wares, such as wool and leather, continued to make their way to England where they were used to clothe the wealthy and adorn their residences.

Moving away from the Hispano-centric focus of Chapter One, which explored the making of the Spanish wardrobe and its elite wearers, this chapter examines the international outreach of said wardrobe and the importation of Spanish wool and leather into England during the years 1554 to 1603. It examines the ways in which this lucrative trade, and the manufacture of wool and leather, were influenced by Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and it discusses who the primary merchants dealing in Spanish wool and leather were, and how the mercantile infrastructure functioned in both Bristol and London. Port Books, Particulars Accounts, Patent Rolls and State Papers paint a picture of the reality of Anglo-Spanish relations during the mid- to late-sixteenth century. They illustrate that actually, contrary to popular belief, Anglo-Spanish trade was very much alive and well during this period.[3] The commercial desire to import Spanish goods, and concurrently export English wares into the Iberian Peninsula, was so prevalent in the minds of English merchants and their elite consumers that political and religious tensions between the two nations were generally of secondary importance. This is not to say that English merchants, and indeed the lower classes, did not voice anti-Spanish

[2] M. Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.11-36; H. Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue: The Construction of a Queen's Identity, Legitimacy, and the Wardrobe of Mary Tudor* (MA Thesis: Dalhousie University, 2011); A. Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', *Costume*, 18:1 (1984), pp.9-28; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988).

[3] Together, Eldred and Croft's articles clarify the nature of Anglo-Spanish trade and English foreign policy during the years 1563 to 1604. In contrast to the work of Anthony Gooch and Philip Powell, which overlook Anglo-Spanish amity, Eldred and Croft both conclude that the English merchants (particularly members of the Spanish Company) trading in Spain were strong supporters of Anglo-Spanish amity owing to a need to maintain economic and political security. See: J. Eldred, '"The Just will pay for the Sinners": English Merchants, the Trade with Spain, and Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1563-1585', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), pp.5-28; P. Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy, 1585-1604', *The Historical Journal*, 32:2 (1989), pp.281-301; A. Gooch, 'Aspects of the incidence of hispanicisms in British English: A study in language, history, politics and psychology' in Félix Rodríguez Gonzaléz (ed.) *Spanish Loanwords in the English Language: A Tendency Towards Hegemony Reversal* (New York, 1996), pp.231-252; P. Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (Albuquerque, 1971)

sentiments during the war years of 1585-1604, but that these expressions of mistrust, xenophobia and in some cases jealousy, were more often than not guided by economic, rather than religious concerns.[4] In addition to these socio-cultural tensions, at sea Anglo-Spanish relations also experienced difficulties. There were four major interruptions to legal Anglo-Spanish trade during this 50 year period (in 1563, 1568-1573, 1585 and 1588-1589) when embargoes were ordered and commercial exchange was restricted due to war. However, in spite of these limitations, trade persisted between the two nations, albeit often illicitly. In my discussion below of alien trade into the ports of Bristol and London, Anglo-Spanish mercantile relations, and diplomatic negotiations, I map the fluctuating nature of this exchange and piece together a comprehensive image of cross-cultural exchange between England and Spain.

This chapter also considers what happened to Spanish wares once they entered the English household. Who were their English consumers and how did these wealthy individuals purchase, wear and talk about Spanish garments? And what can their consumption habits tell us about elite English tastes during this period? We find answers to these questions in the personal inventories and probate wills of wealthy Bristolians and Londoners, as well as in contemporary literature and tracts, which mention desirable Spanish leather and wool goods entering the English household and record Spanish fashions being worn in England. As a social class more closely tied to the upper echelons of society, and indeed the aristocracy, we might expect to see these wealthy consumers mirror the political concerns voiced at court. However, as in much political history, it was often the middling and lower sort – particularly, here, the mercantile classes – who felt the pinch of intra-national tensions upon their own purses and livelihoods. This chapter therefore deals with the role and impact of Anglo-Spanish trade in the lives of two classes of individual: the merchants and makers who dealt in and manufactured Spanish goods, and the upper-class citizens who purchased and consumed Spanish wool and leather. As this chapter ultimately argues, the make-up of the elite English wardrobe was very much coloured by Spanish textiles and clothes.

[4] The nature of Anglo-Spanish relations, therefore, greatly depended upon the individuals involved and there was not one 'universal' attitude towards Spaniards during the sixteenth century. The Evil May Day riot of 1517, which targeted foreigners in the City of London, was led by working class individuals and was just one example of the type of xenophobia exhibited by young apprentices. By the end of the century, however, it became common for young men from Bristol to travel to Spain for a year to take an apprenticeship. The elite and mercantile classes were less likely to express anti-Spanish sentiments, owing to the 'usefulness' of the Spanish connection for their own personal gain: it supported their livelihoods and enabled political expediency. See, P. Griffiths (ed.), *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford, 1996), p.78; A. Ruddock, 'Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages', *The English Historical Review*, 61:239 (1946), p.3.

The Machinations of the Anglo-Spanish Trade

There exists a sizeable body of research dedicated to the Anglo-Spanish trade during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Croft, in her work on the English trade with the 'enemy', Spain, and the formation of the Spanish Company in the sixteenth century, successfully dispels the myth that the English ceased all trade and contact with Spain during the war years of 1585-1604.[5] Croft argues that 'the substantial volume of illicit trade [between England and Spain] should point to a reconsideration of some important Elizabethan attitudes to Anglo-Spanish relations both before and during the war, and hence also more generally to religious attitudes'.[6] The quantitative evidence sourced from the London Particulars Accounts and Port Books indicates a continuous ebb and flow of goods between the two nations which, although dampened by the embargoes, remained significant. Following closely in her footsteps, Eldred uses the same sources to piece together the state of Anglo-Spanish trade during the preceding years of 1563 to 1585. Eldred also finds evidence that Anglo-Spanish trade was key to Elizabeth's foreign policy; a strong commercial connection with Spain not only bolstered England's economy, but offered her security from France. This was a connection that was increasingly threatened by antagonism between English and Spanish merchants in the 1580s and, more worryingly, the plundering of Spanish ships and goods by Francis Drake and other English privateers in the New World.[7]

This scholarship, however, is largely steered from an Anglo-centric point of view, and considers the experiences of *English* merchants trading with, and residing in Spain. These English endeavours have been made famous by the exploits of merchants and travellers such as John Frampton, Richard Hakluyt (who published his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America* in 1582) and the brothers, William and Robert Tyndall, who were notorious smugglers and were famously captured by the Spanish Inquisition in 1571.[8] Fewer studies have been carried out into the role of Spanish merchants in the port cities of Bristol and London during this period perhaps owing, in part, to the larger scale of the Spanish trade with

[5] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.281-302; P. Croft, *The Spanish Company* (London, 1973)
[6] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.281.
[7] Eldred, "The Just will Pay for the Sinners", p.5; G. Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1954)
[8] D. Beecher, 'The legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan trader and translator', *Renaissance Studies*, 20:3 (2006), p.321.

the Netherlands and the Americas.[9] However, both port cities were key in the overseas trade with Spain: London, being the largest port in the country, attracted thousands of foreign merchants to its shores; Bristol, conversely, sourced the majority of its imports from the Iberian Peninsula (Spanish wares accounted for over four fifths of Bristol's total imports in the 1570s) and provided the largest body of merchants (74 out of 389) to the Spanish Company, a guild established in 1530 to protect the trading rights of English merchants.[10] Despite its substantive size, the port of Southampton has been occluded from this study owing to the dominance of Italian, rather than Spanish merchants in the region. Given Bristol and London's link with Spain, piecing together the history of Anglo-Spanish mercantile endeavours – however small in comparison to the larger narratives of trans-Atlantic and -Pacific trade – is valuable in helping us to better elucidate the historically 'troubled' relationship between England and Spain. In focusing on the trade of Spanish leather and wool, as well as the reception of Spaniards in England, this chapter fills this lacuna by demonstrating that there existed a noticeable interest in 'Spanishness' and a stronger Spanish connection in England than previously acknowledged by scholars.

This chapter also contributes to the current scholarship on Anglo-Spanish relations by showing that, in spite of anti-Hispanism, the demand for Spanish wares in England was rife. The Anglo-Spanish 'troubles' are rooted in the Black Legend, an anti-Spanish vitriol which I explore in greater detail in the Epilogue where I analyse how anti-Spanish pamphleteers from the 1580s onwards ridiculed Spaniards through caricatured representations of their dress. The Black Legend was established in Renaissance Europe and, for nearly five hundred years, has coloured the representation of Spaniards as proud and blood-thirsty individuals.[11] To date, there

[9] Alwyn Ruddock has carried out research into the role of Genoese merchants in the port city of Southampton, providing a useful comparison and parallel study of the ways in which Italian aliens conducted trade overseas in England. See: Ruddock, 'Alien Merchants in Southampton', pp.1-17.

[10] Stone, 'Trading with the Enemy: Revisited', p.5; David Harris Sacks also argues that, 'Bristol specialised as a centre for the Spanish and Portuguese trades during this period', see: D. H. Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA, 1991), p.36.

[11] Concerning the Black Legend in England more generally, William Maltby conducted the first survey of anti-Spanish propaganda which comprised Tudor broadsides, pamphlets and histories. These sources, Maltby argued, pinpointed the origins of the Black Legend of Spain in England in the early sixteenth century, beginning first with the damning account of the Spanish cruelties committed against the indigenous peoples in Hispaniola (which reached England via the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas' *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*, 1552), and culminating in the Anglo-Spanish war of 1585-1604. Maltby pivots his examination of episodes of Hispanophobia around specific historical events, stressing that, 'it is necessary to recall that [the Black Legend] is a legend and not a myth. It sprang, as legends do, from actual events'. Contrarily, recent research into the Black Legend in England has determined its 'starting point' as the 1580s. Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales and Ricardo Garcia Carcel have both acknowledged the existence of a relatively peaceful Anglo-Spanish alliance during the course of Mary and Philip's marriage and the first half of Elizabeth's reign. It was only in the final two decades of the century, they argue, that tensions reached a boiling point. Spain was labelled a 'Nest of Wolves', a 'spring

has only been one study into the connection between Spanish clothing and the effects of the Black Legend in Europe, carried out by Ribeiro in her essay on the reception of Spanish dress in seventeenth-century England.[12] There has been no research into the impact of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, and the Black Legend, upon the wool and leather trades. This chapter therefore breaks new ground in its study of the overseas dissemination and reception of Spanish textiles and dress during the wartime period. It demonstrates that, in spite of widespread Hispanophobia amongst the lower classes, there existed a considerable consumption of Iberian wares amongst the English elite which bypassed popular anti-Spanish sentiment. Black Legend sources are fascinating given their quantity, and also their emergence at a time when Anglo-Spanish trade routes, although disrupted by embargoes, were still popularly frequented by English and Spanish merchants hoping to carry wares between the two nations. As this chapter illustrates, through surveys of Port Books and Aliens Returns, both the Black Legend and the Anglo-Spanish war did have implications for the number of Spanish immigrants arriving in London (their numbers dwindled from 83 in 1571, to 45 in 1583) and the quantities of Spanish goods being legally imported into England.[13] However, these statistics must not be read in isolation: as the London Aliens Returns show, whilst their numbers dropped in the 1580s, the average Spanish population in London was no smaller than it had been during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Similarly, imports of Spanish wares appear to undergo dramatic changes during periods of diplomatic unease, yet are restored during more peaceable periods. Following a period of stagnancy in the years surrounding the Dutch Revolt, for instance, imports of Spanish wools into Bristol proceeded to skyrocket in the 1590s.

Indeed, over the past decade, research into early modern Anglo-Spanish relations has begun to revise the myth of Anglo-Spanish enmity. As Fuchs explains, these revisionist histories reveal just 'how sustained and widespread the connections are [between England and Spain] even at the moments of greatest conflict'.[14] Elizabeth strove to maintain Anglo-Spanish

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of all filthinesse' and, perhaps most scathingly, a 'sewer, cesspool and biggest most besmirched and disgusting heap of the most abominable, foul and abject people that ever walked the earth' by its then English rivals. See: W. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England* (Durham, NC, 1971), pp.10-11; Anon, *The Character of Spain: Or, An Epitome of Their Virtues and Vices* (London, 1660), p.1; E. Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish state…*(London, 1590), p.36; Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain', p.13; R. García Carcel, *La leyenda negra. Historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1998), p.84.

[12] A. Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice: Perceptions of Spain and Spanish Dress in Seventeenth-century England' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.2 (Madrid, 2014), pp.317-339.

[13] See Appendix C.

[14] Fuchs, 'The Spanish Connection', p.1.

relations in full knowledge that, whilst their religious ideologies differed, to sever ties with Spain would be to radically weaken England's own position in the global arena and to leave her defenceless to France. A Spanish ally, however dubious, was still a beneficial one.[15] What better way to measure the state of Anglo-Spanish relations, therefore, than to examine the encounters of those individuals – the merchants – who interacted with foreign bodies on a regular basis? The accounts of Spanish and English merchants, however varied and anecdotal in nature, reveal a complex tug-of-war relationship in which both parties complain, and sing the praises of one another, in almost equal measure. The mercantile community provides a valuable case study into the nature of Anglo-Spanish dealings: should diplomatic relations go asunder, it was *their* livelihoods that were at stake. Indeed, as Richard Stone finds in his study of illicit trade during the wartime period, 'Bristol merchants smuggling goods to Spain during the war…argued against the war not for religious or political reasons, but because they felt friendly relations with Spain were economically best for England'.[16] The desperate measures undertaken by English and Spanish traders to maintain commercial networks during this 50-year period reveal the tenacity with which these sea merchants rode the waves of diplomatic disputes, smuggling, and war.

To gain a fuller picture then, it is essential that we temper our readings of anti-Spanish accounts by also considering records of Anglo-Spanish amity. These records include State Papers, Patent Rolls and letters that talk of Spaniards being received favourably. As the diversity of extant material proves, there was no single dominant attitude towards Spaniards residing and trading in England during this period. For instance, we find individuals such as Christopher Gamboa, a Spanish gentleman and royal messenger, who was granted a patent on 16 April 1557 for a lease of twenty-one years to rent the house and gardens 'of the late chantry

[15] A recent study by Geoffrey Parker and Rayne Allinson, into a series of intimate holograph letters exchanged between Elizabeth and Philip following Mary's death, sheds light upon the pair's shaky relationship. Four days after her half-sister's passing, Elizabeth wrote to Philip expressing her 'zeal and desire we hold to continue with the ancient and perfect friendship that has normally existed' between England and Spain. Philip's literal interpretation of this comment led him to propose to Elizabeth (an offer she later rejected 'listing no fewer than 6 reasons') and Anglo-Spanish relations took a decidedly downhill turn. Philip promptly married the French princess, Isabel de Valois, and sent Elizabeth another holograph letter questioning her intent for religious reform and 'gently' reminding her of England's protection under the Anglo-Spanish alliance. This letter was met with a polite, yet firm response that England was indeed continuing in its plans for reformation. These holograph exchanges provide just a small window onto the strained diplomatic exchanges between England and Spain; a period when Elizabeth eyed Spain with wariness, keeping her friends close, and her enemies closer. See: R. Allinson; G. Parker, 'A King and Two Queens: The holograph correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I' in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges. Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Surrey, 2015), pp.105-106.

[16] Stone, '"Trading with the Enemy" Revisited', p.38.

of Rodestrete in Brundish, co. Suffolk' for the annual sum of 291.10s.[17] Such a sizeable lease, for an alien residing in England, indicates a sense of optimistic certainty towards a prolonged and amicable Anglo-Spanish alliance. However, at the opposite end of the spectrum, we also read of Spaniards such as Luis Lopez de Ayala who suffered a xenophobic assault at his brother's residence in Fleet Street in 1555:

> Whereas Gregory Baron late of London, gentleman, is indicted for that he with others on 1 Oct. last, between 6 and 8p.m. feloniously broke the mansion house of Peter Lopes de Ayala, count of Foensalida, in Fletestrete in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West of the suburbs of London, assaulted Lewis Lopes de Ayala, brother of the count, and other Spanish men dwelling in the said house, wounded and maltreated them so that they despaired of their lives, and stole and carried away a piece of silver called 'an ewer of sylver', a silver candelabrum, another piece of silver called 'a sawser of sylver' and 2 silver cups weighing in all 112 oz. of the value of 33l.12s…[18]

The polarity of these records illustrates some of the difficulties that emerge when trying to decipher the true nature of Anglo-Spanish relations. Nevertheless, however ambivalent English attitudes might have been towards Spaniards during this period, anti-Spanish feelings were not so terrible as to hamper an already well-established Anglo-Spanish trade network.[19] Indeed, as this chapter contends, it was through the exchange of material goods that these two nations remained firmly anchored to one another, even during times of political and religious tension.

Smooth Sailing? Anglo-Spanish Commerce and Smuggling during the Crisis Years

Perhaps one of the reasons for the long-lasting success – or survival – of the Anglo-Spanish trade network was the variety of desirable Spanish wares that it yielded. These goods were plentiful, including almonds, raisins, marmalade, oil, soap and wine as well as expensive textile wares.[20] Evidence of the Spanish textiles and dress commonly traded into England comes from the Customs Books of Rates which list the taxes levied on cargos arriving into

[17] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Philip and Mary, Vol.III, 1&3, 3&4 Mary, 1555-1557* (London, 1938), p.469.
[18] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Philip and Mary, Vol.III, 1&3, 3&4 Mary, 1555-1557* (London, 1938), p.112.
[19] L. B. Luu,'"Taking the bread out of our mouths": Xenophobia in early modern London', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 19:2 (2000), p.3.
[20] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.281.

English ports (see Appendix B). These books were issued at regular intervals in 1503, 1558 and 1582, and chart the rise and fall in commodity values.[21] The Custom Book of 1582, for instance, records the following Spanish wares: 'Gloves of Spanish making the groce'; 'Hats called Spanish or Portingale felts the dosen'; 'Hats called Spanish or Venice the dosen'; 'Spanish skinnes the dozen'; 'Taffata narrow called spanish Taffata the yarde'; and 'Wul called Spanish wul the c.'.[22] Bristol and London Port Books from the second half of the century also list the cargoes of Spanish goods brought into England and describe imports of leather, wool, 'granado' silk (black silk from Granada), crewelwork or 'Spanishwork' (a type of embroidery native to Spain), gloves, chapines, buskins and shirts.[23] Spanish silks frequently appear on lists of English imports, most likely due to the fact that they were produced after the manner of Italian silks and therefore were believed to be of especially fine quality. Patterned Spanish silks were particularly distinctive due to the legacy of Hispano-Moresque designs and the new iconography of palmettes, pomegranates and roundels that characterised later sixteenth-century designs.[24]

[21] One of Mary's greatest endeavours was to issue the revision, and publication of a new Customs Book of Rates in 1558. See, N. S. Gras, *The early English customs system* (Cambridge, 1918), p.125.
[22] T. S. Willan, *A Tudor book of rates* (1962)
[23] The format of these sources is relatively straightforward: each Account or Book correlates with a given year of trade and includes entries detailing the ships and commodities entering or leaving the ports. These entries follow a standardised format, listing the name of the ship, the ship's master, the tonnage, the port of destination or origin, and the date; followed by the name of the merchant and an itemised inventory of cargo, including the weight and duty paid for each commodity. Whilst these documents are essential starting points in helping us to discern how much Iberian goods arrived in England, they are not without their faults. The records' entries are often incomplete, occasionally omitting sections of information (i.e. the ship master or tonnage) or failing to provide full coverage for the year in question. Furthermore, they only account for *customed* goods that were legally traded; they fail to encompass the vast quantities of smuggled or looted goods which entered England unbeknown to the customhouse. Whilst we do find evidence of confiscated goods in State Papers and the Memoranda Rolls of the King's Remembrancer; it is likely that a significant number of cases of smuggling went unnoticed. See, TNA E 159/341: 'Memoranda Roll, 2 Eliz I, Mich.', f.11r.; TNA E 159/332: 'Memoranda Roll, 7 Edw VI, Trin.' f.11r-v.;135r; TNA E 122/22/4: 'Ledger of particulars of account of Thomas Kelke & Henry Pomerey, collectors of Customs'; TNA E 122/24/12: 'Port: Bristol Controlment of import duties by G. Jones'; TNA E 190/4/2: 'The Port of London. Port: London Official: Controller of Customs and Subsidies. Overseas inwards'; TNA E 190/1129/11: 'The Head Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Controller Overseas inwards'; TNA E 190/1131/10: 'The Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Surveyor Overseas'; TNA E 190/1132/11: 'The Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Surveyor Overseas'; BL Lansdowne MS 41/36: 1583-1584: 'An account of goods and merchandise brought into the port of Bristol, from Spain, Portugal, and the Isles of Canaries and Madeira, by English Merchants…'; S. Flavin; E. T. Jones (eds.), *Bristol's trade with Ireland and the Continent, 1503-1601* (Dublin, 2009); J. Vanes (ed.), *Documents illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century* (Kendal, 1979) pp.144-148; B. Dietz (ed.), *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London Documents* (Kent, 1972), pp.1-133.
[24] See Chapter One for a discussion on Spanish silks. See also: M. Herrero García, *Los Tejidos en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2014), pp.33-36; G. F. Wingfield Digby, 'Sixteenth-Century Silk Damasks: A Spanish Group', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 74:434 (1939), pp.222-228; B. Moses, 'The Economic Condition of Spain in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Political Economy*, 1:4 (1893), pp.513-534.

Such Spanish luxuries can be traced in records of wrecked merchant ships: a letter, from the High Court of Admiralty to the Vice Admiral of Devon, reports the ill fate of Robert Tyndall's ship, the *Caesar*, which was wrecked on 27 January 1561 at Barnstaple on its return-journey from Spain. Its cargo is described as follows:

> […] a coffer made in Spayne [with] xvj dozen Spanyshe felltes, viij swurrd blades, won sword with hilltes and a crosbowe.
>
> Item, more in another coffer viij dozen of the seyd felltes.
>
> Item, more in another coffer a Cheyne of golld tie doble linkt, won golld ringe with diamantes stone sharpp, another golld rynge with a turquess, a jewell of golld ancylld, v perlls and a crystall stone, in hyt a pice of velvet, a pice of grene sey, aperrell of clothe, iij shertes, iiij handkercheys wroughte with sylke, a daggar gyllt with golld skabar of velvet from Myllan and other jewells.
>
> Item, another Danske coffer and in hytt ij peyre of black syllk knytt hozen, ij peyre of whyte gloves, ij swurrds gyurdells of velvet and sertayne sarrplarrs, therty and ij peyre of knyves.
>
> […]viiij vares of black taffeta.
>
> […]Item, vij dozen of Spanyshe rengis made with sylk.[25]

In this veritable treasure trove of Spanish goods, we find the all familiar Spanish felts, popularly used for felt-wool hats, as well as ready-made Spanish garments such as shirts, black silk hosen, and white gloves.[26]

Many Spanish wares also arrived in England by means other than trade. Diplomatic gifts, trousseaux, overseas purchases by errant ambassadors, and the personal wardrobes of resident Spaniards all contributed to the overall presence of Spanish fashions across the Channel. A number of personal inventories, belonging to the statesman Thomas Chaloner (who served as a member of government under Mary and as an ambassador for Elizabeth and Philip II), provide insight into the types of Spanish clothes popularly consumed. Three documents survive relating to the expenditures of Chaloner whilst he was carrying out ambassadorial duties in Spain in the early 1560s, which I have transcribed and translated into English (see Appendix D). They include: the 'Chaloner's Purchases in Spain' (1560), 'Chaloner's Hosier's

[25] HCA 14/15/182 A cited in Vanes, *Documents*, pp.124-25.
[26] It is likely that these gloves matched, in quality, value and adornment, a number of late sixteenth-century leather gloves currently on loan to the Fashion Museum, Bath, and described later.

Bill' (1562) and 'Chaloner's Expenses' (1563). Chaloner's expenditures paint a picture of an incredibly wealthy and well-dressed man: in 1560 alone he purchased three jerkins, two pairs of boots (presumably made of Cordoban leather), and a pair of striking black-and-white breeches, amongst other taffeta, velvet and linen garments.[27] His 'Hosier's Bill' and 'Expenses' are no less ostentatious: they reveal a taffeta suit, three different styles of cape (four *capas*, one *capote* and one *aleman*), a further jerkin and several yards of sumptuous velvet presumably intended for the construction of later garments upon his return to England. It is difficult to know for certain what inspired Chaloner's 'shopping frenzy' whilst in Spain: it could be interpreted as a need to 'look the part' when entering the Spanish court (which we know was common practice amongst travelling noblemen) or more simply a desire to purchase a great number of luxurious, and readily available Spanish costumes and textiles.[28]

It is unsurprising given their description that the demand for these luxurious items was particularly high in England. Perhaps more significant at this time was the establishment of a guild, the aforementioned Spanish Company, which was created expressly to serve and protect the overseas commercial ventures of English merchants trading with Spain. The Company was established in 1530 in San Lucar in Andalusia to provide its members with privileges including lesser customs duties, protection from Spanish authorities, and property including a church.[29] English opposition to the Company was rife with many merchants complaining of its monopoly on the Spanish trade.[30] These complaints were perhaps justified as, in 1584, the Spanish Company was granted permission to export 10,000 dickers of calfskins to Spain annually.[31] Coupled with stoppages in Anglo-Spanish trade, these objections meant the Spanish Company

[27] Chaloner's inventories call to mind similar wardrobes of other affluent European men during this period, notably the well-to-do Mattheus Schwartz whose rare and personal *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Clothes) documents the vibrant clothes he purchased throughout the course of his lifetime, including a black and white suit. See, U. Rublack; M. Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthaeus Veit Konrad Schwarz of Ausberg* (London, 2015)

[28] For details of Chaloner's other purchases (including foodstuffs) whilst in Spain, see: G. M. Bell, 'Sir Thomas Chaloner's Diplomatic Expenses in Spain', *Historical Research*, 53:129 (1980), pp.118-124.

[29] English members of the Spanish Company were, oddly, labelled 'Spanish merchants'. However, for the sake of clarity, I will refer to these English-born merchants as 'English merchants' and Spanish-born merchants as 'Spanish merchants', regardless of whether these individuals were naturalised in foreign countries. Along with the Church of St George, their property in San Lucar also included eight individual houses, a dedicated house for the Consul, a quay and a vineyard. See, Croft, *The Spanish Company*, p.vii.

[30] BL Lansdowne MS 26: Burghley Papers: 1577-1578, f.145r.

[31] TNA SP 12/129: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I. Letters and papers described in the published Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Letters and Papers', ff.52-53. A 'dicker' refers to a set of ten hides; therefore, 10,000 dickers of calfskins would equate to 100,000 individual hides.

dwindled considerably; it was re-established in 1577 and, following the war years, formally confirmed in 1604, the year of the Treaty of London.[32]

Regardless of the protection of a guild such as the Spanish Company, Anglo-Spanish trade did not always run a smooth course. Croft identifies four significant disruptions to trade (1563, 1568-1573, 1585 and 1588), with Eldred also hailing the years 1575-1585 as the 'golden decade' of Anglo-Spanish commerce. Despite efforts to expand trading routes into Spain in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, tensions caused by English privateers plaguing the Spanish coast in 1563 resulted in the first, albeit short-lived embargo with Spain and the Netherlands.[33] Following this break, Anglo-Spanish relations were later affected by the Dutch Revolt in the Netherlands. The uprising of Protestant rebels against Spanish Catholic rule began in 1566 in the major cities of Antwerp and Ghent and had significant repercussions for Anglo-Spanish trade.[34] By 1568, tensions were riding high: Philip had sent troops, led by the Duke of Alba, into Flanders to resist the rebels, and Elizabeth, believed to have been seeking recompense for a Spanish attack on her English privateers in the West Indies, purportedly ordered the capture of Alba's Spanish pay-ships (travelling *en route* to Flanders) and the seizure of their bullion.[35] As a result, the Anglo-Spanish trade entered its second, lengthier embargo which lasted from 1568 to 1573. These embargoes were always on Spanish shores, Spanish wares could still be legally exported to England (and in many cases were also illegally traded), but English ships arriving on the coast in Spain would often be stayed and their goods confiscated.[36]

This disruption had injurious consequences for both nations whose domestic industries and merchant classes relied heavily upon alien trade to survive. As recorded in the Lansdowne MS 14, English merchants expressed a desire to rekindle Anglo-Spanish relations as it was believed that 'one can hardly prosper without the other'.[37] English merchants, in particular, evaded the embargo by trading with the marginal ports of Spain's northern coast. The larger ports of Seville and San Lucar in the South, whilst boasting booming markets and a lucrative trade of Spanish and New World goods, were heavily administered by the Inquisitional

[32] The Treaty of London, signed on 18 August 1604 at Somerset House, marked the end of the Anglo-Spanish war. See: Croft, *Spanish Company*, pp.xxii; xxx.
[33] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.281-82.
[34] Eldred, "The Just will Pay for the Sinners", p.15.
[35] In reality, these ships were stayed on the English coast as a means of protecting them from poor weather conditions; however, this incident was misinterpreted by the Spanish ambassador and subsequently misreported to Philip. See: Eldred, "The Just will Pay for the Sinners", pp.15-16.
[36] Stone, '"Trading with the Enemy" Revisited', p.2.
[37] BL Lansdowne MS 14: Burghley Papers: 1565-1573, f.163r.

authorities and more difficult to access.[38] The northern ports of Galicia, however, where local authorities were more lax about covert English trade, offered these merchant ships a safer route.[39] Instances of clandestine trade were not new to Anglo-Spanish commerce: English and Spanish ships had long been smuggling Spanish goods into England. Indeed, in the port of Bristol, cases of customs-evasion were rife: in 1545, Thomas Shipman was caught smuggling sixty dozen calf skins and thirty-two dickers of tanned leather onto an unnamed Spanish ship, whilst five years later, Robert Newborne was brought up in front of the customs house for attempting to export un-customed leathers (intended for the *Jesus* of San Sebastian) in the *Lyon* of Bristol.[40] Imports of Spanish wool also arrived in Bristol with neither customs paid nor licences granted: in 1553, Richard Serche seized 160 woolfells, ten felt hats and 'a piece of linen cloth called Callycoo cloth' coming from Cadiz; on 10 July 1559, William Goslate confiscated six dozen illegally-imported Spanish felt hats; and in 1575, merchant Thomas Pullington and ship-master Richard Strowbridge were accused of illegally importing 400lb of Spanish wool into Bristol.[41]

Outside of the 'official' embargo periods, we also hear of disruptions to Anglo-Spanish trade. In 1577, for instance, a number of Bristol merchants petitioned to the Queen's Privy Council for compensation for the seizure of their goods in Spain. The State Paper recording this event is not only interesting for its detailed description of the ships' cargo, but because of its date: 1577 is generally regarded by historians as falling within the 'golden decade' of Anglo-Spanish trade which lasted from 1575 until 1585 and was purportedly 'undeterred' by embargoes. Croft also describes this period as being an 'outstandingly prosperous decade' for the mercantile community, amounting to the growing wealth of the London ports.[42] Nevertheless, the petition clearly states that Philip ordered the stay and embargo of all English ships in Spanish ports during this year:

> Merchauntes of the Citie of Bristoll, have susteyned by shipwrack and pyracies doon unto their shipps and goodes, losses to the value

[38] As access was via the long Guadalquivir river, there was a greater potential for English merchant ships to get trapped. See: Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.284-5.
[39] Croft gives the example of the *John* of London whose ship-master was reassured by Galician officials that, should Philip II issue an order to arrest English traders, he would be given 'twenty-four hours warning' to make his escape. See: Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.282.
[40] TNA E 159/324: 'Memoranda Roll, 37 Henry VIII, Mich.', f.9r.; TNA E 159/329: 'Memoranda Roll, 4 Edw VI, Easter', f.13r-v. cited in Vanes. *Documents,* p.116.
[41] TNA E 159/341, f.11r.; TNA E 159/332, f.11r-v.; TNA E 159/369: 'Memoranda Roll, 17 Eliz I, part 2, Trin.', f.6r. cited in Vanes, *Documents*, pp.117; 135.
[42] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.283.

> of fortie five thowsande poundes or there aboutes, and your saide suppliauntes have at this instante in the Kingdomes of Spayne and Portingall five or six of their best shipps verie richlie laden with cloth, lead, wax and other merchaundizes, to the value of ten thowsande poundes, and also that *now of late the Kinge of Spaine hath caused all English shipps to be stayed and ymbarged to the greate losse and utter undoing of the greatest parte of your saide suppliauntes*, unles by your good Lordships some meanes be provided for their relief.[43]

Further evidence that 1577 might be considered a 'crisis' year for Anglo-Spanish trade can be found in the Lansdowne MS 26 where a complaint lodged in 1578 against the manufacture of lamb and sheep-skin leathers in England, clearly references the hope that 'trade and quyetnes ys restored' between the two nations.[44] It is perhaps unsurprising that we should hear of Anglo-Spanish unease during the 1570s: this was the decade when the privateer Francis Drake successfully completed his circumnavigation of the globe, seizing Spanish ships in the New World and causing anxiety amongst Anglo-Spanish merchants who sought to maintain good commercial relations.[45] It was also the period when England offered financial aid to Protestant Dutch rebels to stave off Spanish and French control. By the end of the decade, in 1579, the Netherlands was divided in two: William of Orange led the conquest of the Northern Netherlands, forming the Union of Utrecht, and Philip commanded the Southern provinces – the Union of Arras – which came to be known as the Spanish Netherlands.[46]

Philip's attempts to fully reconquer the Netherlands were countered in 1585 when Elizabeth ordered English troops into the region: this act marked the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish war; a war characterised by numerous conflicts, yet famously never 'declared'. In the same year, the Spanish ports were abruptly closed to trade, English ships were stayed and their cargo seized.[47] Nevertheless, similar to previous embargoes, illicit trade persisted between the two nations and actually increased during the crisis years of 1588-1589.[48] Throughout the

[43] TNA SP 12/120/51: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I' cited in Vanes, *Documents*, p.140. [emphasis mine]
[44] BL Lansdowne MS 26, f.145r.
[45] Croft, *The Spanish Company*, pp.xxiii-xxiv.
[46] G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp.194-195.
[47] This became a common feature of the Anglo-Spanish embargoes with many merchants complaining of their wares being seized in Spain. In 1600, for instance, the merchant Richard Dane wrote that he had 'lost to the valew of twoe thousand pounds'. See: BL Add MS 48126: 1500-1640: 'Papers Chiefly Relating to Foreign Affairs and Trade, with some British political material; 1551-1602…', f.74r.
[48] Whilst during the 1580s, Anglo-Spanish embargoes were rendered more expansive, owing to Philip's control of the Kingdom of Portugal from 1581 onwards; there is evidence to suggest that nationalist Portuguese traders, disgruntled with their recent takeover by Spain, and as long-time allies of England, welcomed clandestine English

wartime Spanish goods continued to be legally declared at the English Customhouses, although England's outward trade to Spain was increasingly restricted with goods such as gunpowder and lead prohibited from export so as not to aid the 'enemy'. As Stone has found, Spain's outward trade, 'was never in fact made completely illegal on the English side' and, whilst the embargoes signalled diplomatic tensions, they never fully dampened the import trade of Spanish wares into England.[49]

Statistically, the value and size of Spanish imports into the capital city outweighed those into Bristol. Whilst Bristol was one of the busiest ports in England and boasted strong mercantile connections with Spain, as a city it was vastly swamped by London. A twentieth of the English population resided in London during the sixteenth century, with 100,000 people living in the capital in 1580 and 200,000 in 1600.[50] Bristol, on the other hand, only laid claim to 12,000 inhabitants at the end of Elizabeth's reign.[51] This disparity is reflected in the Port Books of 1567-1568, the year before the second Anglo-Spanish embargo when tensions were relatively high. Whilst Spanish imports into Bristol were seemingly non-existent during this year, London enjoyed the arrival of £273 5s. worth of Spanish leathers and £39 6s. 8d. worth of Spanish wool.[52] The value of Spanish wares increased during the sixteenth century, too: as the Customs Books of Rates illustrate, the taxes levied on Spanish leather cushions rose from 2s.in 1507 to 6s. 8d. in 1582.[53] Other Spanish garments and accessories were considerably more expensive than their European counterparts: Spanish gloves were worth 48s. whilst French or 'Bruges' gloves were valued at 24s. and Milanese or Venetian gloves, 30s. Spanish wool was also set at a pricy £5. There are several possible reasons for this hike in fees: the English Crown either wished to profit from the growing demand for Spanish wares in England which had, arguably, risen in value as trade networks between the two nations grew

merchants. Stone finds too, that the Spanish trade into Bristol increased during the wartime period. See, Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.284-85; 289; 295; Stone. '"Trading with the Enemy" Revisited', p.7.

[49] Stone. '"Trading with the Enemy" Revisited', p.2.

[50] R. B. Manning, *Village Revolts, Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford, 1988), p.189.

[51] Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.353.

[52] Flavin; Jones, *Bristol's trade with Ireland and the Continent*

[53] See Appendix B. Oftentimes, Spanish goods could be taken for Portuguese goods, and vice versa, by their consumers. In the 1582 Book of Rates, for instance, we find an entry for 'Spanish or Portuguese hats' which indicates either a similarity in national hat styles and materials; or, more simply, an over-generalization by customs officers of anything vaguely 'Iberian'. Both chronologically, and geographically-speaking, it is important to discern between Spanish and Portuguese wares when discussing the 'Anglo-Spanish' trade. This trade refers specifically to the exchange of commodities out of what we now term as 'modern-day' Spain which, during the sixteenth century, comprised the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and was separate from the Kingdom of Portugal. Philip's coronation as King of Portugal in 1581 marked the beginning of the Iberian Union which lasted until the Portuguese Restoration War in 1640. See also: Willan, *Tudor Book of Rates*,

increasingly hazardous, or, contrarily, to discourage their importation altogether and thereby present a united anti-Spanish front. Taking into consideration that this increase in taxes occurred in the early '80s, just prior to the third embargo and the Armada of '88, it seems likely that these changes were fuelled by shifting Anglo-Spanish relations.[54]

State Papers from the year 1587 show eight English and Welsh ships exporting illegal goods from Bristol into Spain. These merchants are accused of having 'furnished the Kinge of Spaine with all kinde of provicion to the greate hurte of her Majestie and the utter undoing of her Highnes realme'.[55] In spite of their condemnation, Bristol merchants also adopted alternative yet no less brazen methods of sustaining trade with Spain during the war. Many embarked on illicit voyages to the Mediterranean, sailing first to French ports from whence their wares could be traded along the northern coast of Spain and into Lisbon in Portugal.[56] It also became commonplace for English merchants to hire French, Flemish and Irish ship masters, ships and pseudonyms to sail to Spain. By 1600, the number of 'Irishmen' trading to Spain was so large that they were forced to carry proof of identity on their persons.[57]

As these instances illustrate, mercantile relations with Spain were not always 'plain sailing' and English traders did, on occasion, suffer at the hands of the Inquisitional authorities.

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[54] According the Stone, the rise in customs *again* at the close of the century came in tandem with an increase in licenses granted, 'when the Crown became more generous with the issue of licenses for leather trade', he argues, 'the value of calf skins being declared to the customs officers suddenly soared'. See: Stone, '"Trading with the Enemy" Revisited', p.11.

[55] Eight ships, and their shipmasters, are listed beginning with John Barnard and the *Gabriell* of Bristol which was freighted by the merchants Thomas Hollam, Humfrey Hollman and William Swanley with a cargo of 'fishe, butter and leather, lead and powder in and to the porte of Jamounte of Spayne, valewed to be worth the some of 800li sterling'. This entry is followed by the *Daisye*, the *Lillye*, the *Lytle William*, the *Vyolett*, the *Pellican*, the *Jeames*, and an unnamed ship which all carried 'lyke comodytie[s]' to the *Gabriell* with a net worth of £7,600 sterling. See: TNA SP 15/30/62: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI-James I: Addenda. Letters and Papers'; TNA SP 12/218/30: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I'; TNA SP 12/239/92: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I'; TNA SP 12/242/57: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I'; TNA SP 12/271/85: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I' cited in Vanes, *Documents*, p.141.

[56] Popular French ports included St Jean de Luz, Bordeaux, Nantes, La Rochelle, Le Havre, Dieppe and Rouen. France's import trade consequently enjoyed a considerable wealth of activity during the Anglo-Spanish embargoes.

[57] In August 1587, for instance, Bristolians Robert Sandford and Richard Jones entered into business with the shipmaster, Herbert of Dublin, and arranged to sail the *Mereman* on two voyages to La Rochelle and Dublin with Herbert assuming responsibility for the final outward leg to Galicia. Here, Herbert enjoyed a brief spell of good fortune where he 'unlade the saide ship and there solde the most parte of his lading marchandize to good market and gayne'; however, he was later arrested by the Inquisition and incarcerated for 14 months. It was not just the English *merchants* who travelled to Spain in disguise; English cloths were occasionally passed off as 'Flemish', having been labelled with Flemish seals, and resold to the 'Spanish markets disguised as the products of Philip II's subjects'. See: Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.285-87; 290-91; Req. 2/223/53 cited in Vanes, *Documents*, p.143.

In 1570, for example, a number of Bristol ships and men were seized off the coast of Saint Sebastian in Northern Spain for having launched an attack on two Spanish ships in which both the ship owner and master were killed, and the crew injured.[58] In another famous case in 1571, Robert Tyndall, John Frampton and William Ellis were captured by the Inquisition whence they were stripped of their cargo 'to the value of M^{l}M^{l}CCxxviij^{li} x^{s} vj^{d}', to their utter undoynge', and subjected to 'longe and miserable ymprisonmentes [and] the intolerable tormentes of the stroppadoe there susteyned by the aucthorytie of the Inquysitors of Spayne'.[59] This is the rhetoric used by Tyndall and Frampton in their persuasive and hyperbolic address to Lord Burghley, in which they beg for financial compensation for their losses. Although it is known that protestant merchants and travellers were often subjected to acts of public penance by members of the Inquisition, it is quite possible that the 'intolerable tormentes' that Tyndall and Frampton suffered at the hands of the Spanish authorities were exaggerated for dramatic effect as we also hear of Englishmen subjecting foreign Spanish merchants to equally poor treatment on home soil.[60] This is not to say that Anglo-Spanish merchants did not enjoy good relations at all during this period: many Englishmen became naturalised in Spain, just as Spaniards were denizened in England.[61]

Generally speaking, any sense of national unity towards the war effort amongst the mercantile community was 'rapidly undermined by regional necessity'.[62] These were merchants who served regional industries and whose trade with Spain was essential to their survival. Whilst much scholarship has tended to view contemporary anti-Catholic and -Spanish sentiment in Tudor England as the focus of public opinion, this was not necessarily the case for the merchants. Many of these men had well-established business partners, clientele, and even families overseas, and some even attended Catholic mass whilst in Spain – whether or not to appease local officials or relinquish their former faith, we cannot say. Following the humiliating defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Anglo-Spanish traders welcomed in the new

[58] TNA SP 12/75/100: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I. Musters. Musters: Lincs.' cited in Vanes, *Documents*, pp.131-32.
[59] TNA SP 12/120/54: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I' cited in Vanes, *Documents*, p.132.
[60] Towards the close of the century, for instance, certain English merchants pillaged Spanish ships: in 1598, Lord Burghley was called upon to examine the 'spoils committed by John Callys upon a Spanish ship laden with 206 pockets of Spanish wools and brought the most part to Cardiff', see: *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, Vol.VIII: 1598 (London, 1899), [1598]
[61] In 1548, for instance, the Tyndall family were amongst several Bristol merchants who supported their fellow Spanish traders who were embroiled in a case of smuggling, and begged that the Inquisition 'be mercifull to this honest man, Pedro de Lerin'. See: HCA 24/14/35-44 cited in Vanes, *Documents*, p.129.
[62] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.296.

decade with the hope of renewed peace and free commercial exchange.[63] The merchants who continued to trade during and after the war years were not necessarily pseudo-papists keen to explore the Catholic faith, nor were they traitors to the English Crown: these were men who understood and appreciated the pragmatic conveniences and commercial value of an Anglo-Spanish trade network, and the threat to their domestic industries that its demise might incur. They were interested in preserving their livelihoods and recognised the need to secure peaceful relations with Spanish traders, should the political or religious tides turn once more.

'A most necessarye forreyne commodytie for the lande': Leather and Wool, Spanish Exports for an English Market

In 1578, Spanish leather was described by English merchants as 'a most necessarye forreyne commodytie for the lande'.[64] This was no understatement, Spanish craftsmen from Cordoba had long been supplying Spanish leathers to the Spanish dominions and her allies. These 'Spanish leathers' refer both to Spanish skins which originated from the Iberian Peninsula and those that were dressed and tanned according to Spanish methods. They refer also to two distinct types of leather known commonly as 'Cordoban' and *guadamecí*. Cordoban leathers were traditionally made from a thin goatskin that was treated with a vegetable-tan and manufactured into garments; *guadamecí* leathers, conversely, were used for decorative purposes and were often stamped, gilded and painted to make leather wall-hangings. The embossing process employed for *guadamecí* leathers is believed to have arrived in Spain by means of the Moorish occupation of the Peninsula in the eighth century.[65] These leathers were originally made by 'tawing' sheepskins with alum to give a red or white colouring, before being gilded and embossed with heated wooden blocks to create a repeat pattern, decorated with a final layer of oil paint and left to dry. Later developments from the fourteenth century onwards introduced vegetable tanning and the use of metal stamping plates, as well as yellow varnish over silver as a cheaper substitute for gold or silver. Where gold or silver were used, the leathers were often beaten to encourage the gilded layer to shimmer.[66] Ambrosio de Morales describes

[63] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.295-97.
[64] BL Lansdowne MS 26, f.145r.
[65] Ordinances from Seville reveal that Cordoban craftsmen wishing to deal in *guadamecí* leathers were obliged to demonstrate that they could design and manufacture leather wall-hangings, according to local legislations and using correct materials, before they could open a shop. See: F. Lenygon, 'Gilt Leather Rooms', *The Art Journal* (1911), p.282; Davillier, *Notas sobre los cueros de Cordoba* (Gerona, 1879), p.3.
[66] Ulinka Rublack, in her recent article on Hans Fugger and his consumption of Spanish leathers and footwear, also elucidates this production process. See: U. Rublack, 'Matter in the Material Renaissance', *Past and Present*, 219 (2013), pp.80-81; J. W. Waterer, *Spanish leather: a history of its use from 800 to 1800 for mural hangings,*

this process, and the reputation of Cordoba for producing fine leathers, in his *Les antiguedades de las ciudades de España* (1575):

> Throughout Spain, any goatskins, regardless of the region in which they are treated, are called Cordoban, because of the excellence of this art which is practised in that town…Sheepskins are used by the craftsmen who work in Cordoba, who find no competition elsewhere in Spain, so much so that all of Europe and the Indies benefit from their craft. She [the craft of *guadamecí* leather] creates so much employment for the city and beauty too in the principal streets. Because they leave the gilded leathers out in the sun, stamped and painted, and fixed to large tables, so that they can dry; the leathers create a beautiful sight emblazoned with splendour and diversity.[67]

Contemporaries of de Morales also wax lyrical about the virtues of Cordoban and *guadamecí* leathers. The Italian writer Tommaso Garzoni, for instance, describes how 'the origin of this noble work has come from Spain for it is in this province that the best masters work' and the Spanish author, Pedro de Medina, exclaims, 'they make, in this community, the best *guadamecí* leathers and the best needles in Spain, producing them in large quantities and dispatching them throughout the kingdom and beyond'.[68]

Though rare and generally in poor condition, several examples of extant *guadamecí* wall-hangings can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum. These come in the form of secular panels, assembled like tiles to create repeat patterns of flowers or coats-of-arms (figs.79-80) or as devotional objects bearing religious images, such as the leather-painting of St Veronica holding the vernicle (fig.81).[69] In most of these examples the original paintwork

screens, upholstery, altar frontals, ecclesiastical vestments, footwear, gloves pouches and caskets (London, 1971), pp.16-17.

[67] '…por toda Espana qualesquier cueros de cabra, en qualquier parte que se hayan aderecado, se llaman cordovans, por la excelencia desta arte, que en aquella ciudad ay...Las badanas sirven para los guadamecis, que se labran tales en Cordova, que de ninguna parte de Espana hay competencia, y tantos, que a toda Europa y las Indias, se prove de alli esta hazienda. Ella da a la ciudad mucha hazienda y da tambien una hermosa vista por las principals calles della. Porque como sacan al sol los cueros dorados ya, labrados y pintados, fixados en grandes tablas, paraque se enxuguen, haze un bel mirar aquello entapicado con tanto resplandor y diversidad', A. de Morales, *Les antiguedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcala de Henares, 1575) cited in Davillier, *Notas sobre los cueros de Cordoba*, pp.7-8. [translation mine]; Lenygon, 'Gilt Leather Rooms', p.282.

[68] 'l'origine di questo nobilissimo lavoro, sia venuto al Spagna per esser di quella provincial discessi i migliori maestri', T. Garzoni, *La Piazza Universale di tutte la scienza* (Firenze, 1560) [translation mine]; 'Fabricanse en esta población. escribe, los mejores guadamecíes y las mejores agujas de España, haciéndose en muy grande cantidad que se despachan por todo el reyno y áuti fuera de el', P. de Medina, *Grandezas y cosas notables de España* (Alcalá de licuares, 1590), cited in Davillier, *Notas sobre los cueros de Cordoba*, p.650 [translation mine]

[69] This object is fascinating given the Counter-Reformation climate in which it would have been created (Catholic Spain) and the use of skin - albeit animal - to create a secondary relic of Christ's face. The resulting effect is one

is difficult to decipher having darkened over time. However, paintings from the fifteenth century reveal how they may have appeared in their former glory: Paolo di Sanlocadio's *San Giacomo di Compostella* (fig.82), the Maestro de los Luna's *Retablo de Sancho de Zamora* (fig.83) and the Maestro de las Once Mil Virgenes' *Imposición de la casulla a San Ildefonso* (fig.84) all depict heavily-gilded and stamped *guadamecí* panels adorning the walls and casket. What is interesting about the gilded leather panels in paintings by the Maestro de las Once Mil Virgenes and the Maestro de los Luna, is their similarity to the patterns created in contemporary cloth of gold (fig.85), a highly expensive form of textile traditionally reserved for European royalty. This verisimilitude – the rendering of gilded leather as woven golden cloth – is undoubtedly an illusory technique intended to bestow upon the consumer a sense of prestige. It is also a means of marrying two expensive and luxurious 'textile' technologies.

Other household furnishings, such as Spanish cushions, were widely consumed in England, and the Customs Book of Rates for 1507 includes fees for 'Lether for cousschenes the dossen, 2s.' and 'Lether called rede bash' fo cosshynes the dossen, 2s'.[70] The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a pair of identical Spanish cushions (fig.86), known as 'kneelers' and presumably intended as prayer cushions for the clergy, which are gilded, painted atop with a red, black and yellow florid design and decorated with leather tassels at each corner. It is likely that such cushions would have travelled via the Spanish Netherlands, rather than directly from Spain as, although Cordoba was the locus of the *guadamecí* craft in Europe, the transmission of leathercrafts to the Spanish Netherlands in the fourteenth century meant that the Spanish leather trade was eventually superseded by the Dutch. Owing to the rigor with which the Dutch later developed this craft in the seventeenth century, the number of extant Dutch leather panels (figs.87-89) far exceeds their Spanish antecedents.[71]

Cordoban leathers – used for garments such as gloves, jerkins, buskins and cloaks – underwent a different manufacturing process to *guadamecí* leathers. These skins were first soaked and scraped to remove any soft tissue, re-soaked and 'de-haired'. They were then tanned using vegetable-tannins, before being dried and 'staked' with a blunt blade to soften the leather,

of doubling: Christ is embodied first through the pictorial representation of his face on the veil, and second through natural material of the object.

[70] Davillier, *Notas sobre los cueros de Cordoba*, p.20.

[71] Fine examples of Dutchwork can be found at Dyrham Park near Bath (fig.87) which illustrate a clear shift from the early textile references to cloth of gold, and an increased interest in the floral motifs that dominated so much of Dutch Golden Age art during this later period. See: Lenygon, 'Gilt Leather Rooms', p.283.

and ‘fed’ using a recipe of fat and flour, or egg-yolk, to render them water-resistant.[72] Early Cordoban leathers were famed for their red colour, as achieved through using a combination of dyes such as kermes or madder with a mordant of tin salts during the tawing process.[73] Of the many sartorial uses for Cordoban leather, jerkins and gloves are some of the more fascinating examples owing to their often elaborate adornment and plentiful references in literary and textual sources. Their usage was noticeably gendered: whilst smaller items such as gloves and draw-string purses were worn by both sexes alike, leather garments largely dominated the male wardrobe. Contemporary paintings, such as Diego Velázquez’s *The Surrender of Breda* (fig.90) and the Master of the Antwerp Family Portrait’s *Civic Guards of Division F of the Kloveniers* (fig.91) illustrate the types of military and urban spaces in which male wearers used leather clothes. As well as adorning the domestic interior, then, Spanish leathers could be found in the masculine and violent realms of the battlefield, the hunting ground and the city, used as primarily as military clothing and later adopted by the nobility. Despite their often practical function and hardy material, they could also be tailored to suit the more fanciful tastes of the wearer. Two jerkins from the Museum of London and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs.92-93) show evidence of pinking, in the form of diagonal lozenges, hearts and stars, which allowed for a colourful or embroidered shirt, or a matching doublet, to be worn underneath.[74] They would have been cut in the same manner as other silk or woollen jerkins.[75]

Cordoban leather gloves were also popularly consumed by the European elite. A great number of these were perfumed using amber, a scent so exquisite that, during a trip to Spain in the mid-seventeenth century, the English Lady Fanshawe commented that, ‘Their perfums of amber excell all the world in their kind, both for cloathes, houshold stuff, and fumes, there is

[72] Leathers known as ‘buff’ leathers were treated in a different manner: this involved applying animal or fish oils to the skins under heat to generate an oil oxidation process (fig.94). See, Waterer, *Spanish leather*, pp.19; 22-24.
[73] In an Ordinance of 1543, the local Cordoban officials declared that, ‘each and every piece of red leather made from now on, in this City or elsewhere, shall be dyed with madder and not with brasil as they have been up to the present time, with great harm to the buyers’. See: Waterer, *Spanish leather*, p.95; with special thanks to Christopher Scopes, member of the Leathersellers’ Company, for kindly sharing his knowledge and insight into contemporary leather-dressing processes.
[74] J. Arnold, ‘A Study of Three Jerkins’, *Costume*, 5:1 (1971), p.36.
[75] The former jerkin (fig.92) also comprises pewter buttons which have been artfully moulded to resemble the silk-covered buttons popularly used on silk doublets and jerkins. The museum also possesses a further plain buff-coloured jerkin (fig.94), made from chamois leather and laced along the front. These garments are similar to those worn by Sir Martin Frobisher in his painting by Cornelis Ketel (fig.95). By the early seventeenth century, it also became fashionable to wear an additional leather layer, the backplate (fig.96) over these garments.

no such waters made as in Siville'.[76] The Fashion Museum, Bath, houses a number of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century gloves, pertaining to the Worshipful Company of Glovers, which are made from white calfskin and decorated with silk ruffles, embroidery, beading and spangles. They comprise lengthy pointed fingers and thumbs, with stitching along the outer edges and cross-stitching around the knuckles and base of the thumb to allow for flexibility. Whilst these gloves have stiffened due to age and dirt, contemporary portraiture from the sixteenth century reveals how they would have once appeared: Nicolaes Eliaszoon Pickenoy's *Portrait of a Women Aged 34 Years* shows a lady clutching her gloves in her hands, their soft leather folding easily beneath her clasp (fig.97) and Peter Paul Rubens's *Philip II on Horseback* (fig.98) depicts a pair of white Cordoban leather gloves, the material so fine that Philip's knuckles and fingernails can be clearly discerned. These gloves would have been both functional, intended to protect the delicate skin of the wearer and, importantly, used as decorative showpieces. Nearly a third or half of the bodies of these gloves comprise large decorative cuffs, made from rose- or blue-coloured silk, embroidered and beaded on top, and stiffened with a base which flairs outwards by means of individual gussets (fig.99a-d).

As Stallybrass has argued, decorative and expensive gloves such as these 'operated to display hands to which…labor was alien'; indeed, in Albrecht Dürer's self-portrait from 1498 (fig.100), we can see how the artist has used the act of wearing expensive calfskin gloves to illustrate that he has risen from the ranks of working artist to wealthy gentleman. He need not dirty his hands with paint. The representation of gloves in early modern art is fascinating given their indexical nature: as Stallybrass has found, 'the unpairing of gloves (the taking off of one to perform an action)' becomes a repeated feature of much portraiture from the sixteenth century.[77] He takes the Spanish example of Anthonis Mor's *Ana de Austria* (fig.56) whose un-gloved hand rests, with index finger pointed, upon the royal 'throne' – a leather-backed chair. The intention is clear: the removal of the second skin of leather to reveal the 'true' skin and body of the Queen indicates her role, and public identity, as bearer of a royal heir. This connection between clothing, the body, the subject's identity, which I discuss in Chapter One, is perhaps most overtly expressed in the example of gloves where the creases and folds of the

[76] Davillier, *Notas sobre los cueros de Cordoba*, p.19; J. Loftis (ed.), *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford, 1979), p.172.
[77] P. Stallybrass; A. R. Jones, 'Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, 28:1 (2001), pp.6-7; Hunt, Catherine, *Translation and Transformation: The Depiction of Gloves in Western Art from c.1400–1660* (PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2012)

leather – the impressions left by the wearer – remind us of the very physical bodies that once wore these items.

There has been little research into the trade of Spanish leathers. To date, John Waterer is the only English scholar to have written on the subject, with Cordoban leather featuring only fleetingly in Spanish exhibition catalogues or conservation guides.[78] In his *Spanish Leather*, Waterer examines the origins and processes of Spanish leather-craft, as I have outlined above. He concentrates on the dissemination and emulation of *guadamecí* leather in Europe, yet fails to fully address the nature of the Cordoban leather trade, despite evidence of its success in visual and documentary sources of the period. By contrast, a fair body of work exists which pertains to the *English* leather trade during this period. Whilst unrelated to Spanish leathers, it provides insight into the nature of a domestic leather industry which the Spanish merchants would have had to negotiate. In their work on Tudor leather-craft, industry, and legislation, Dean and Clarkson argue that the importance of the leather trade in England can be clearly seen through the issue of a number of legislations, including the Leather Act of 1563, that illustrate a preoccupation with the manufacture and trade of leather wares amongst the English populace.[79]

This paucity of scholarship is remarkable given the prominence of Spanish leather in the wardrobes and households of Europe's elite, as well as the importance of the leather trade more generally, which was considered to be second in ranking to the woollen trade. It is also surprising given the nomenclature associated with cordwainers (the makers of shoes and boots) during this time. Etymologically speaking, the term 'cordwainers' derives from the place-name of Cordoba, in Seville, and the 'Cordoban' or 'Civill' (Seville) leathers that were widely-produced in this bustling centre. Between the years 1554-1603, nine companies were actively engaged in either leather-selling or -manufacturing, including: leathersellers, curriers, cordwainers, girdlers, glovers, tanners, dressers, bridlers and saddlers.[80] The industry tended to

[78] E. Koldeweij, 'How Spanish is "Spanish Leather"?', *Studies in Conservation*, 37 (1992), pp.84-88; C. Calnan, 'The Conservation of Spanish Gilt Leather: An Introduction' in H. W. M. Hodges; J. S. Mills; P. Smith (eds.) *Conservation of the Iberian and Latin American Cultural Heritage. Preprints of the Contributions to the Madrid Congress 1992* (London, 1992), pp.23-26.

[79] L. A. Clarkson, 'The Leather Crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 14:1 (1966), p.25; D. M. Dean, 'Public or Private? London, Leather and Legislation in Elizabethan England', *The Historical Journal*, 31:3 (1988), p.530.

[80] In England, the leather industry comprised two classes of workers: light leather-workers (leather-dressers and manufacturers of leather clothing and gloves) and heavy leather-workers (saddlers, bridlers and shoemakers). See:

focus in urban centres where there already existed a steady supply of skins (arriving from butchers and the external agricultural and oversea trade) and marketplaces where leather wares could be amply sold.[81] In London alone, 6000 shoemakers, glovers and leather-dressers are believed to have been working at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[82] However, regional producers of leather and leather-crafts were also widely successful: in the West of England, for example, exports of calf skins and glove-making were two major sources of income, employing a significant portion of the working population.[83] The Bristol glove industry was responsible for dressing the nation in fine calf- and goat-skin gloves and, along with leather-tanners and heavy leather-workers, made up 17 percent of the local work force.[84] By the sixteenth century, therefore, the English leather industry was a well-established source of income for the nation. However, this is not to say that it did not suffer set-backs; a number of legislations, notably the Leather Act of 1563, led to difficulties for England's leather-workers.

The Leather Act 'Touching Tanners, Couriours, Shooemakers, and other Artyficers occupying the cutting of Leather' of 1563, was intended to reform, control and separate the leather-making, purchasing and selling industries of the tanners, curriers and shoemakers. However, as Clarkson has found, this legislation was created by individuals who were unfamiliar with the practicalities of the leather trade. As such, many of the new regulations proved contradictory in nature and had harmful consequences for the Company of Curriers who had enjoyed a long monopoly on the purchase and sale of tanned leathers.[85] The consequences of the Leather Act have often been explored in connection with the demise of the curriers, rather than its impact upon the Spanish leather trade. Interestingly, the Act stipulated that English leathers may not be exported overseas and that, should customs officials allow for

L. A. Clarkson, 'English Economic Policy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Case of the Leather Industry', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 38 (1965), p.149.

[81] Clarkson, 'Leather Crafts', p.27.

[82] TNA SP 14/7: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, James I', f.88r.; BL Add MS 12/504, f.112r.

[83] Clarkson, 'Leather Crafts', pp.27-28.

[84] Clarkson, 'Leather Crafts', pp.28-29; TNA SP 16/377: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Charles I', f.38r; TNA SP 14/31: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, James I'

[85] The prospects of the Company of Curriers were jeopardised by the Act that prohibited individuals who were not 'leather-using craftsmen' from buying leathers. Under this new law, leathers used for different purposes were obliged to be tanned using a solution of lime and bird droppings for varying periods of time (for example, the soles of shoes necessitated a year-long tanning process, whilst other shoe leathers required only nine months); however, the law also clearly stipulated that hides should be tanned as a whole, for the same duration of time, despite being put to diverse uses. Once tanned, the law ordered that these hides be curried and rendered waterproof using high-quality materials of oil and tallow. Four years after the declaration of the Leather Act in 1563, a select number of curriers were successful in gaining a license to purchase and trade in tanned leather. However, generally speaking, the curriers fought a losing battle against their rival leather-craftsmen and in 1585 they lost a bill against the Cordwainers at parliament to reduce the restrictions preventing them from buying leathers. See: Clarkson, 'English Economic Policy', pp.149-153; Dean, 'Public or Private?', p.530.

illegal smuggling, they would be fined £100.[86] This desire to protect the domestic leather trade, and prevent the repletion of their internal resources, might be interpreted as a lack of interest in the overseas trade with Spain. However, despite this legislation, England played a role in the manufacture and trade of leathers into Europe. As early as 1555, for instance, the Spanish merchant Peter Deprado was granted a licence to purchase '100 dickers of leather within the realm [England], ship to the same in the port of London within the next two years and transport them to Spain'.[87] Earlier still, between the years 1544-1545, Robert Tyndall's merchant company was responsible for shipping 'xvj dickers of hides cow', 'xj dicker di. tanned hides cow', 'vj dicker ox hides & xij dozenz of calve skyn' and '21 dozens calve skynes' to the Bay of Biscay.[88] Far from being high quality leathers, however, these wares were relatively cheap. Indeed, if we consider the customs rates (Appendix D) for leather imports and exports during the sixteenth century, we can see a marked difference in the poundage charged for Spanish leathers in contrast to prices attributed to lower quality skins made from creatures such as badger, beaver, fox, mole, otter, squirrel, weasel and wolf. In 1582, imports of 'Spanish skinnes the dozen' were charged £3 in customs, whilst 'bear skinnes the skin black' were worth 16s.; 'fox skinnes the pane or mantle', 10s.; 'otter skinnes the peece', 2s.; and 'badger skins the skin', 7d.[89]

That Spanish leathers are listed in the Customs Books of Rates at all demonstrates a sizeable interest and importation of Spanish skins into England. We know from royal inventories that Spanish leathers had been purchased by the English upper classes as early as the fifteenth century. Henry VI's private quarters are documented as having leather carpets (presumably leather panels or tiles), and both Anne Boleyn and Mary, Queen of Scots, decorated their rooms (at East Ham and Edinburgh Castle, respectively) with gilded leather panels.[90] Mary Tudor, as a young princess, ordered 'a douzin and half Spanysshe gloves' for the princely sum of 7s. 6d. in 1532.[91] Despite substantive evidence of a thriving domestic leather industry in England, and a clear demand for Spanish gilded leathers amongst the upper

[86] Clarkson, 'English Economic Policy', p.151.
[87] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Philip and Mary, Vol.II, 1&2 Philip and Mary, 1554-1555* (London, 1938), p.182.
[88]Towards the end of the century, owing to a now bountiful and surplus number of English leathers within the realm, further licenses were granted to allow their exportation to Europe. See, Clarkson, 'English Economic Policy', p.156; BRO P.St JB Misc.: 'Records of the Anglican parish of St John Baptist', ff.187v; 189r. cited in Vanes, *Documents*, pp.119-20.
[89] Willan, *Tudor Book of Rates*, pp.7-65.
[90] Waterer, *Spanish leather*, pp.59-60.
[91] F. Madden (ed.), *Privy purse expenses of the Princess Mary* (London, 1831), p.267.

classes, there is no evidence of a corporation of Spanish leather gilders existing in England until the early seventeenth century.[92] Thus, these leathers would have been traded, or gifted directly from either Cordoba in Spain where the primary Guild of the *guadamecí* craftsmen was initially stationed, or Netherlandish centres such as Mechelin.[93]

The popularity of Spanish leather in the English wardrobe is put into sharp relief by a patent granted on 24 April 1555 during the early years of Mary and Philip's union. It describes the costly inflation of Spanish skins imported from the Iberian Peninsula, and the need to meet the English demand by permitting the Spanish leather-dresser, Gomes de Navarrete to manufacture Spanish ('Seville' or 'Civill') leathers locally, and economically, in London:

> Whereas Gomes de Navarrete born in Spain has petitioned to make within the realm very good skins of leather commonly called 'Civill' or Spanish skins, the making whereof has not hitherto been practised in England, and the inhabitants of England wear for their apparel as other ways a great quantity of these skins, which only come from Spain where they be for the most part made, whereby they are grown unto an excessive price; Licence to de Navarrete and his assigns to make the said skins of goats' skins only within the realm and to sell them to the subjects in gross or by retail and no other is to meddle in the making of the same for 10 years ensuing.[94]

It is unclear from this patent whether de Navarrete was accompanied by a workshop of Spanish leather-dressers (that is, craftsmen or family members native to Spain) or whether he trained his English 'assigns' according to Spanish techniques of tanning and dressing. Nevertheless, his ten-year monopoly on the manufacture of Spanish leathers in London would have presumably dampened the import of 'authentic' Spanish leathers produced in the Peninsula. De Navarette's licence was not extended thereafter, and in 1570 four English gentlemen – Richard Bartye, Thomas Cecill, Edmund Hall and Francis Harrington – were granted a licence

[92] Waterer, *Spanish leather,* p.61.
[93] In spite of the political upheavals affecting the Netherlands, many of the textiles crafts popularly practised in the Catholic South were disseminated into the North during the late sixteenth century. Gilded leather was amongst the luxurious tapestries and damask linens that journeyed their way into the Protestant realm. By 1660, the Netherlands had all but superseded Spain as the makers of *guadamecí* leathers; a triumph which is testified in a number of later Dutch paintings, such as Pieter de Hooch's *Interior with Figures* (fig.88) and Cornelis Troost's *Disguised, Godefroy and his Servant Put Captain Ulrich to Flight* (fig.89) which illustrate the shift from the early stylised designs of Spanish leathers to the vibrant and florid motifs of the Dutch creations. See: Waterer, *Spanish leather,* p.55.
[94] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Philip and Mary, Vol.II, 1&2 Philip and Mary, 1554-1555* (London, 1938), p.286.

of twenty-one years to 'dress leather after the manner of Spain and Netherlande both for shoes and other garments and uses; also to buy all necessary materials, and to sell the finished goods to their best profit'.[95]

Unlike the Spanish leather trade, which supplied materials for a multitude of garments and accessories, the Spanish wool trade was largely used to make felt hats and Spanish cloth in England.[96] The wool trade in Spain was dominated by the Burgalese merchants. Burgos, as a major centre along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, had long been afforded royal and ecclesiastical privileges, receiving generous endowments from the Crown and establishing its merchant guild, the Consulado of Burgos, as early as 1494. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the Burgalese wool merchants were wealthy; they dominated the trade along the northern coast and represented 5.5% of the total household-owners in the city by the mid-century.[97] These merchants accrued their wools from flockowners in northern Spain in Burgos and Soria, the Castilian towns of Avila, Segovia and La Mancha, and Cordoba in the south. It was customary for merchants to travel during the winter months to inspect the flocks ahead of shearing, and to establish an 'advance sale contract' in which the shepherds would receive an early deposit upon signing the contract, and the remaining payment upon delivery of wool. Other methods of commerce included travelling to fairs, such as the famous Medina del Campo fair and the lesser known Huesca fair, where accounts could be cleared and wools could be sold.[98]

The trade reached dizzying heights in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Burgalese merchants shipping raw wools to England, as well as France, Italy and the Netherlands. Whilst the price of producing raw wool in Spain was relatively cheap, the labour costs for cloth-making were expensive. As a consequence, many European buyers, including

[95] *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth I, 1569-1572* (London, 1939), p.17.
[96] As regards the consumption of imported *foreign* wools, such as those from Spain, this was a privilege reserved for the upper classes. Owing to the success of the wool industry, a significant number of sixteenth century woollen hats survive. Those that are housed at the Museum of London appear, on face value, to be similar in style: they are relatively shallow, like a beret with a brim, and are made in brown or black wool; however, not all of these hats are felted, and many still bear evidence of having been knitted in the round (fig.101a-b). It is likely that these examples were made for the middling or lower classes, rather than crafted from imported wools, as wealthier individuals tended to opt for more elaborate hat designs, commissioning their headwear in a variety of colours and adornments. K. Buckland, 'The Monmouth Cap', *Costume*, 13 (1979), p.25.
[97] A survey of the local Burgalese populace was carried out in 1564 to ascertain how many heads of households existed. Rahn Phillips; Phillips, Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, pp.167-71.
[98] These markets, were held twice a year in May and October for a month and were extremely lucrative opportunities. The Huesca fair was especially popular amongst the Aragonese wool merchants.

Spaniards, chose to purchase Spanish wool and have it manufactured into textiles and garments elsewhere.[99] This is not to say that the Spanish textile industry was non-existent; *per contra*, the peninsula was alive with a hubbub of artisanal and commercial activity. Burgos, in the north, produced coarse, cheap cloths for regional as well as export markets, and the southern cities created high-quality fabrics. The discerning sixteenth-century shopper could purchase white cloths from Toledo, green cloths from Cuenca, broadcloths from Ciudad Real and velvets from Granada. Segovia offered Spain's wealthiest consumers with the most desirable textiles, producing on average 13,000 black cloths per year. It is believed to have hosted the first ever 'factories' in the sixteenth century, with production lines processing each stage of cloth-making under one roof.[100]

In spite of their costly manufacture, large quantities of Spanish woollen cloths made their way to England during Mary's reign. A patent granted by Mary in 1554 shows the monopoly held by Spanish-born Antonio de Guarras, a merchant and ambassador, who was previously permitted a free licence to 'ship at his pleasure to the ports of London and Southampton broad woollen cloths and woollen cloths called kerseys (carisceas),' and to pay equal customs to English merchants, 'provided that the customs, etc. of the said cloths…did not exceed the sums and values contained in the said patents, namely 2209l.15s.10d.'.[101] De Guarras later returned his grants to the Court of Chancery in an act of goodwill to his fellow merchants, requesting that the Spanish merchant, Luis de Paz, and the Venetian merchants, James Foscharini and James Ragazzoni, might be granted security so that they 'may retain in their own hands from time to time all the sums of money due by them for the said customs etc.'.[102] This benevolence amongst the Spanish mercantile community, and with other Mediterranean traders, shows both the close-knit operation of the Spanish wool trade in England and also the desire amongst Spanish merchants to stay on an equal-footing with their English counterparts. Interestingly, it also demonstrates an increasing usage of Spanish wool which, during the 1570s, was directed towards the making of felt hats.

[99] Rahn Phillips; Phillips, Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, pp.193; 231
[100] Rahn Phillips; Phillips, Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, pp.197-202
[101] In old English money, the notations £ (L/l.), s. and d. refer to pounds, shillings and pence otherwise known as librae, solidi and denarii.
[102] *Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Philip and Mary, Vol.III, 1&3, 3&4 Mary, 1555-1557* (London, 1938), p.190.

The demand for Spanish felt hats was the most significant contribution to the success of the hat industry in England. This industry was established during the reign of Henry VIII when raw wools from Spain were imported into the country to the detriment of the local capping industry. As felt hats superseded caps, so too did the prevalence of felt-makers and haberdashers over clothiers. Raw Spanish wools were woven into hats using a stocking stitch, and then felted to disguise the weave – a style which proved highly fashionable, with centres in France and the Low Countries competing to manufacture similar hats. According to David Corner, the 'felt hat was one of the "new" consumer articles of the pre-industrial period, the type of article that people with middling incomes aspired to wear'.[103] As the felt hat industry burgeoned, raw wools were almost exclusively purchased by felt-makers, rather than cloth-workers.[104] Such was the demand for felts amongst English consumers that in 1575 a further licence was granted, this time to the Portuguese gentleman and physician, Hector Nunez, to enjoy a lengthy twenty-year monopoly on the Spanish import trade of 'Mancha' and 'Biskay' wools into England:

> Licence for 20 years for Hector Nunez,…to buy in Spain and Navarre or other dominions of the King of Spain and import Spanish wrought and unwrought wool fit for the making of hats or felts; from the present date; provided that he shall receive upon sale of the same for the rove (that is to say 25lb. weight) of the growth of Mancha, which is the finer sort, not above 33s. 4d. and for the coarser sort called Biskay wool not above 30s. the rove; provided also that he shall pay for the customs and subsidies of every hundred weight imported 4s. 2d.[105]

Moreover, it was ordered that 'customers, collectors and controllers in the city and port of London or other places in England' should refrain from taking payment, making entries in their books, or agreeing duties on any Spanish wool that was imported by merchants other than Nunez. Perpetrators of this patent were forced to forfeit their wool, 'whereof one moiety shall go to the Crown and the other to Christ's hospital in London for the relief of the poor children

[103] D. Corner, 'The Tyranny of Fashion: The Case of the Felt-Hatting Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Textile History*, 22:2 (1991), p.154.
[104] It was not until the first quarter of the seventeenth century, that the so-called 'Spanish cloth' (i.e. cloth which had been woven using dyed Spanish wool) came to be, rather ironically, one of the most popular *English* export goods produced in the West Country. See, P. J. Bowden, *Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxon, 1962), p.47; W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1912), pp.47-48.
[105] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth I, 1575-78*, Vol.VII (London, 1939), p.206.

and infants there'.[106] However, as later State Papers show, the custom houses were often plagued with corruption and many Anglo-Spanish merchants dodged Nunez's monopoly by paying twice the customs rate to import desirable wools.[107] Like many other Anglo-Spanish merchants trading during the second half of the century, Nunez suffered greatly during the wartime period: his commerce was stultified, his cargoes seized, and his personal finances run to ruin.[108] Nunez's monopoly was later transferred to Sir Michael Stanthorpe (groom of the privy-chamber) in 1594 who suffered the misfortune of being prohibited from importing Spanish wool for felt hats under the rule of James I.[109]

Despite attempts to secure a consistent income of Spanish wool to England by means of the licenses granted to de Guarras, Nunez and Stanthorpe, the Spanish wool trade exported much larger volumes to the Low Countries, France and Italy. The success of the Spanish wool trade in Europe did, in fact, have injurious consequences for the domestic English wool trade and greatly affected the Merchants of the Staple at Calais. These merchants had been resident at Calais since 1347 where they enjoyed a successful export trade in wool, as well as other wares such as skins, lead and tin. Following England's loss of Calais to the French in 1558, the Staple relocated to Bruges. A substantive importation of Spanish wools into the Low Countries, however, caused the once flourishing English commerce of wools to rapidly decline, so much so that it was reported that 'a great many towns in Holland and Flanders be fallen to clothing of Spanish wools and return not to clothing of English wool again'.[110] State Papers from the years 1551 and 1560 reveal the English merchants' concern that their trade should be eclipsed by Spanish merchants:

> […] because of such abundance and increase of Spanish wools as have come into Flanders and France, divers towns within both

[106] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth I, 1575-78*, Vol.VII (London, 1939), p.207.
[107] A letter from Robert Zinzan to Lord Burghley at the tail end of the century, in 1593, also speaks of the high favour accorded to a 'Dr Hector' and his wool monopoly. See: TNA SP 12/245: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I', f.76r.
[108] Politically, however, Nunez enjoyed numerous honours: he was naturalised in 1579 and a decade later was engaged, with Walsingham and the Portuguese ambassador, in helping to restore peace between England and Spain. See: W. Rubinstein; M. Jolles; H. L. Rubinstein (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (New York/Hampshire, 2011), p.727.
[109] Stanthorpe expressed his frustration in a letter to the Earl of Stanthorpe in 1606. He wrote, 'In the late Queen's time I had a patent for bringing in of Spanish hat wools. It was the best reward of my service that I then had. Since his Majesty's reign I never received profit thereby, my patent remaining yet in force for many years', see: *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury,* Vol.XVIII:1660 (London, 1940), p.161; Bowden, *Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, p.47; Scott. *Constitution and Finance of English*, p.109.
[110] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, Vol.XIII:1597 (London, 1915), p.53.

> which long draped English wools and fells fell to the drapery of Spanish wools, a great decay of the vent that the staple merchants were accustomed to have there. [111]

To add insult to injury, English merchants were forced to pay inflated customs rates and were charged an equal fee to Spanish merchants who were trading in higher-quality and more expensive goods.[112] By the end of the decade, the English trade was so far declined that Sir William Pickering declared that English merchants could not prosper 'being so charged so long as no provision is to abate the price of wools'.[113] The English wool trade in the Low Countries had all but diminished.

Some twenty-five years later, the 1585 interruption to Anglo-Spanish trade, together with the growing unease amongst English merchants trading in Spain, caused for a re-evaluation of the English cloth and wool trade amongst the Queen's councillors at court. In a letter sent from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to Lord Burghley between 1585 and 1586, Dudley expressed the need to find alternative trade routes as a consequence of the merchants' 'fear' of Philip II:

> […] they may have their choice of all the towns in Holland, and truly, I think if you hold from licences and trading to Hamburg, and to cess the Stedes at a rate as you may think meet, you shall find no fitter places for our merchants in all the East parts, *specially now that they be all afraid of the King of Spain* […] Besides our cloth, we may like wise utter here our wools, and they will forsake both French and Spanish wools to deal with ours. Here are very apt places, Amsterdam, Enchuysen, Rotterdam, Dort, Middelburg in Zeeland; our merchants may choose which they think most meet, and with such favour and friendship as nowhere may they have so good conditions.[114]

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[111] TNA SP 10/13: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI', f.153r.

[112] They complained, in 1551, as follows: 'Doubtless the custom that the merchants of the staple pay is as beneficial to the king as that of the merchant strangers, for the strangers always clack their wools […] and ship only the fine and best, paying five marks a sack custom and have long days of payment. But the merchants of the staple shipping to Calais middle wools and base country wools (as Kesteven, Holland, and Rutland) pay as much custom and subsidy for them as for the best', see: TNA SP 10/13, f.153r.

[113] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, Vol.XIII:1597 (London, 1915), p.53.

[114] TNA SP 84/6: 'Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland. Correspondence and papers of the Secretary of State: Holland', f.270v. [emphasis mine]

Whilst it is tempting to read Dudley's letter at face value, the questionable veracity of English complaints towards Spaniards during this period, coupled with the ongoing illegal English trade in Spain, makes his case for alternative trade routes rather dubious. Rather, we may interpret his 'concern' for the security of English merchants to be a thinly-veiled attempt to regain monopoly over the cloth and wool trade in the Low Countries. This was, after all, a market that had been notoriously dominated by the Burgalese merchants during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, Dudley's 'us' against 'them' mentality is symptomatic of the types of political propaganda that were used by anti-Hispanists to generate a negative view of Spain in the public imagination. As later discussed in the Epilogue, this disavowal of Spain was not a universal phenomenon, nor was it taken up by all Englishmen and women, but it served a fraction of the population who sought to quell their own anxieties about England's diminutive standing. In comparison to Spain's impressive trans-Atlantic and -Pacific trade networks, England's international outreach was greatly limited and, prior to the establishment of the East India Trading Company in 1600, her presence in Asia and America was felt only through the exploits of English privateers or the English merchants who traded in these realms under the auspice of the Spanish Crown.[115]

Spanish Merchants and Traders in Bristol and London

Despite the ill-effects of the embargoes and increasingly hostile Anglo-Spanish relations, Spanish merchants, traders and craftsmen made their way to the port cities of Bristol and London. As Ruth Pike and Constance Jones Mathers have found in their studies of sixteenth-century Spanish merchant families, these types of familial organisations rarely outlived two generations before economic and political pressures caused their businesses to disintegrate. In a tragic turn of events, the aforementioned Burgalese merchants who had enjoyed previous fame and fortune trading Merino wool to England and the Netherlands had all but disappeared by the 1570s owing to the effects of the Dutch Revolt. These were families who, Jones Mathers explains, functioned by means of dividing their members between ports: a few merchants would remain resident in Spain whilst one or two relatives would reside, and

[115] Francis Drake, who famously circumnavigated the globe in 1577-83, caused significant problems for English merchants who sought to keep trade routes open with Spain and not suffer their ill favour. See: Croft, *Spanish Company*, pp.xxiii-xxiv.

often become denizened, in England.[116] According to Carla Rahn Phillips, it is not unusual to find evidence of 'colonies of expatriate merchants' during this period. However, these mercantile communities were often diverse with traders dealing in a wide range of goods. Cultural differences, racial prejudices and a prohibition against foreigners joining the English guilds all contributed towards difficult trading conditions for Spanish merchants. Nevertheless, naturalisation, by means of marriage or the acquisition of land and property, did allow Spaniards to pursue their commerce with greater ease.[117]

To date, there has been no effort to calculate the total number of Spanish merchants present in England during the sixteenth century. Between the years 1250 to 1489, however, some 2,500 Spanish merchants have been recorded as living in England and nearly 1,000 during the latter part of the fifteenth century alone.[118] We can trace the histories of some of the sixteenth-century Spanish migrant families in the London Aliens Returns, a form of documentation that was used to record the aliens and denizens residing in the city. It is quite common to find individuals who are described as being 'Spanish' by birth, but who bear Anglicised names – an indication of a need to relinquish their Spanish identity to better assimilate into English society. As with the Port Books, these sources also have their flaws: the inconsistency in the format and the scribe's hand in many of the Returns means that names are often misspelt; the Returns of the early 1580s are sparse in nature; and the Returns of the late 1580s and '90s omit the strangers' countries of origin altogether.[119] The data accumulated in Appendix C, therefore, does not offer a comprehensive year-by-year breakdown of the number of Spaniards living in London, but rather a detailed record of those foreign individuals who chose to make the city their home in the years 1567-1568, 1571, 1582-1583, and 1585.

This documentation largely concerns the middling or lower sort, but it does also list servants and attendants to the Queen and Spanish Ambassador. The Spanish presence, therefore, infiltrated not only the streets and quays of the City of London, but also the prestigious space of the royal court. As illustrated in the table in Appendix C, we find reference to the attendants, Alaunso Arasco and Peter Martyne in 1571, who belonged to the entourage

[116] C. Jones Mathers, 'Family Partnerships and International Trade in Early Modern Europe: Merchants from Burgos in England and France, 1470-1570', *The Business History Review*, 62:3 (1988), p.367; R. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders. Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca/London, 1972), p.106.
[117] Rahn Phillips; Phillips, Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, p.232.
[118] Rahn Phillips; Phillips, Jr, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, pp.233-34.
[119] Luu, 'Xenophobia in early modern London', p.8.

of the Spanish Ambassador and merchant, Antonio de Guarras (1571-1578); and Anthonie Vawse and Jacob Powel in 1582, who served ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza (1578-1584).[120] The Returns also show that, aside from the aforementioned Antonio de Guarras, the merchants Allonse de Bozart, John Swygo and Hans Wotters were actively trading and residing in England during Elizabeth's reign.[121] Mention of Hector Nunez can be found in a list of foreign merchants in the domestic State Papers from 1571-1572. However, no reference is made to Gomes de Navarrete in this documentation, despite his considerable efforts toward promoting Spanish leathers in London.[122] Two other merchants, John Baptiste Sempetorie and Lewes de Pace are shown to be working in London between the years 1567-1571 and 1571-1583, respectively.[123] The average number of Spaniards living in London was anywhere between 42 to 54 with the exception of the year 1571, when numbers almost doubled from those recorded in 1568 (43) to 83 in total.[124] This increase is alarming, given that Anglo-Spanish trade was experiencing its second, lengthier embargo (1568-1573). It is possible that the need to immigrate to England was spurred on by religious tensions in Spain and the Netherlands, and harsher attitudes towards non-Catholics (the years 1568-1571, for instance, were coloured by a Muslim rebellion in Granada), as the entries for many aliens record that 'the cause of his comynge hether was Goddes word'.[125]

A large percentage of Spanish craftsmen, tradesmen and household servants also worked in the London wards. Individuals such as Michaell Arte, Alexander Williamson, and Fernando Almarez, for example, held the positions of cordwainer, cobbler, and buttonmaker, respectively. However varied and sizeable the Spanish workforce may have been, it was relatively insignificant in comparison to the vast Dutch presence. The percentage of Dutch immigrants living in London during the sixteenth century reached dizzying heights, particularly during the late 1560s and '70s when many Protestants sought sanctuary in England to evade

[120] Both Espés del Valle and Mendoza were exiled from England for their involvement in the Ridolfi and Throckmarton plots to assassinate Elizabeth and place her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, on the throne.
[121] These names are as given in the Returns and may be misspellings. Antonio de Guarras' name, for instance, is later misspelt as Anthonye Ewarras in the 1571 Return.
[122] R. E. G. Kirk; Kirk. E. (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I, Part I: 1523-1571* (Aberdeen, 1900); R. E. G. Kirk; Kirk. E. (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I, Part II: 1571-1575* (Aberdeen, 1902)
[123] John Baptiste Sempetorie's name reappears in the Returns as Baptista Sambitons and Baptist Sempetorye, and Lewes de Pace also appears as Lewes de Face.
[124] See the graph in Appendix C. The year 1582 has been omitted from this data set as it is incomplete and, therefore, does not offer a full picture of the numbers of immigrants living in London in that given year.
[125] They sought to clear a conscience or pursue a chosen faith. See: Kirk; Kirk (eds.) *Returns of Aliens, Part II: 1571-1575*, p.92.

religious troubles in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the Returns show that a number of Spanish 'enclaves' emerged during this period, with certain locales proving more popular than others. Taking Ralph Agas' map of London, *Civitas Londinum* (Appendix C) dated 1561, we can see how, spatially, Spain became mapped onto England through means of a noticeable Spanish presence along the north bank of the Thames, and throughout the city of London, particularly in the wards and parishes of Blackfriars, Allhallows Staining, Tower Ward, St Martins le Grand and Halliwell. Brian Dietz's studies of the London Port Books and the formation of the dockyards too reveals that there also existed a specific quay for overseas trade where Spanish merchants would have sold their wares. This locale comprised Queenhithe Ward (a particularly popular area for resident Spaniards, see Appendix C) and Tower Wharf.[126] As these maps and accounts reveal, both physically and visually, Spain's mercantile presence would have been felt in England during these famously 'troubled' years of Anglo-Spanish political unease.

Trading and Buying Spanish or 'Spanishness'? A Question of Taste and Authenticity

As well as trading their wares in Queenhithe Ward and Tower Wharf, it is likely that foreign merchants would have sold their goods at market or, from 1570 onwards, at the Royal Exchange.[127] The Exchange, more commonly known as the bourse, was commissioned in 1566 by Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy merchant who traded in Antwerp, and later patronised by Elizabeth. Located in Broad Street Ward, it was intended to emulate the bourses in Venice and Antwerp and to establish a popular locale where merchants and consumers could congregate to trade and buy foreign and local wares.[128] To drum up interest, Gresham boldly offered shops to traders (including milliners, goldsmiths, armourers, apothecaries, and booksellers), rent free, for the first year of its opening.[129] Royal licenses of twenty-one years were granted to members of the Exchange in 1570, too, allowing them to manufacture and trade their wares therein.[130] It is quite possible, given the date and length of their license, that the aforementioned ensemble

[126] Dietz, *Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London*, p.x.
[127] E. Welch, 'Sites of Consumption in Early Modern Europe' in F. Trentmann (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), p.231.
[128] It paralleled these bourses in its design, comprising four storeys and a central courtyard. See: BL Add MS 6239, f.7r.; 'The Royal Exchange' in British Library Online Gallery, http://bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex [accessed online: 15/05/2017]
<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/r/001add000006293u00007000.html>
[129] W. Thornbury. 'The Royal Exchange' in *Old and New London: Volume 1* (London, 1878), pp. 494-513, in British History Online [accessed online: 15/05/2017] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp494-513>
[130] L. Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), p.52.

of leather-dressers – Richard Bartye, Thomas Cecill, Edmund Hall and Francis Harrington – who eclipsed Gomes de Navarrette's monopoly on the manufacture of 'Spanish-style' leathers and who were granted their own license of 21 years in 1570, were also associated with the Exchange. Probate wills of local craftsmen too reveal that, alongside these leather-dressers, leather goods would have been commonly sold in or near to the Exchange: a will belonging to George Smith (dated 1598), for instance, describes him as the 'Letherseller of Saint Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange'.[131]

The Exchange was renowned for its distinctively international character. Numerous first-hand accounts survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that regale the variety and exoticism of the bourse's foreign merchandise. In 1598, for instance, during his travels to England, German lawyer Paul Hentzner commented upon the 'stateliness of the building, the assemblage of different nations [therein], [and] the quantities of merchandise' for sale.[132] Following its destruction by the Fire of London in 1666, the Exchange was fondly remembered by the clergyman Samuel Rolle as a 'magazine of all curious varieties' where 'Here, if anywhere, might a man have seen the glory of the world in a moment', such was the diversity of foreign commodities and bodies.[133] In his account, he exclaims:

> How full of riches was that Royal Exchange! Rich men in the midst of it, rich goods both above and beneath! There men walked upon the top of a wealthy mine, considering what Eastern treasures, costly spices, and such-like things were laid up in the bowels (I mean the cellars) of that place. As for the upper part of it, was it not the great storehouse whence the nobility and gentry of England were furnished with most of those costly things wherewith they did adorn either closets or themselves?[134]

Philosopher Joseph Addison too, in 1711, describes the New Exchange (which was built in 1669 to replace the former Exchange) as also being 'a kind of emporium for the whole earth' in which Englishmen walked and traded amongst an international community of merchants:

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[131] TNA PROB 11/91/101: 'Will of George Smith, Letherseller of Saint Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange, City of London [6th February 1598]'

[132] *Paul Hentzner's Travels in England, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Translated by Horace, Late Earl of Oxford, and first printed by him at Strawberry Hill: To which is now added, Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia; or Observations on Queen Elizabeth's Times and Favourites; with Portraits and Views* (London, 1797), p.29.

[133] Samuel Rolle (1666) cited in J. W. Burgon, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, Vol.II (London:, 1839), p.505.

[134] Samuel Rolle (1666) cited in Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, p.505.

> There is no place in the town which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It gives me secret satisfaction…to see so rich an assembly of countrymen and foreigners consulting together upon the private business of mankind, and making this metropolis a kind of emporium for the whole earth…I have often been pleased to hear disputes adjusted between an inhabitant of Japan and an alderman of London; or to see a subject of the great Mogul entering into a league with one of the Czar of Muscovy. I am infinitely delighted in mixing with their several ministers of commerce, as they are distinguished by their different walks and different languages. Sometimes I am jostled among a body of Armenians; sometimes I am lost in a crowd of Jews; and sometimes make one in a group of Dutchmen. I am a Dane, a Swede, or Frenchman at different times; or rather, fancy myself like the old philosopher, who, upon being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was a citizen of the world.[135]

Whilst there are no surviving floorplans for the first Royal Exchange, an extant plan of the New Exchange (fig.102), as it looked in 1837, illustrates the 'worldly emporium' Addison and Rolle describe. As the plan demonstrates, the arcade and central courtyard were divided into separate 'walks', with each labelled according to the type or provenance of merchandise for sale. Of these 'walks', the shops selling 'Iberian' wares are shown grouped closely together according to geographical location and cultural and religious associations. Next to the exit for Cornhill Street stand 'Spanish Walk' and 'Portugal Walk' with 'Jews' Walk' sandwiched in-between.[136] Whilst this plan pertains to a later configuration of the bourse, given the earlier descriptions of the international nature of the first Exchange it is possible that Spanish, and other Iberian wares, would have been grouped together and sold to consumers in a similar manner. Certainly the descriptive lexicon applied to Iberian commodities during this period, as I have previously mentioned and as I discuss further below, illustrates that consumers did not always distinguish between Spanish or Portuguese wares, but rather grouped them together as 'Iberian'. This is more likely to have been the case if Spanish and Portuguese wares were sold alongside one another, as they were in the New Exchange.

With the exception of images of the bourse, there are very few visual representations that document the locations where English individuals bought their wares prior to 1570.

[135] Joseph Addison, 'The Royal Exchange', *Spectator*, 69 (1711), n.p.
[136] Thornbury, 'The Royal Exchange' in *Old and New London: Volume 1* (London, 1878), pp. 494-513, in British History Online [accessed online: 15/05/2017] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp494-513>

Sixteenth century paintings of market scenes, such as *The Draper's Market in 's-Hertogenbosch* (fig.103) and Cristóbal Villalpando's *Main Plaza of Mexico City* (fig.104), and fifteenth-century paintings of Dutch shop interiors, such as Petrus Christus' *A Goldsmith in his Shop* (fig.105) and Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's *The Ill-Matched Lovers* (fig.106), give us some indication of how individuals shopped for clothing goods. However, there are few English equivalents.[137] Literary references exist, however, which paint a picture of English consumption practices during this period. John Eliot's *Ortho-epica Gallica* (1593) recreates, *textually*, the kind of interacttions consumers would have had with cordwainers selling Spanish shoes during this period:

> What Cobbelero, vvhere are you? What commands your signiory? Set a patch on my shoo.
>
> It shall cost you then a peny.
>
> Shoomaker, shew me some good two soled or three soled shooes, some pumps or pantofles of Spanish leather. Let me see some bootes.[138]

An excerpt from *The French Alphabeth* (1592), too, depicts the types of Spanish commodities that consumers could expect to find upon entering the cordwainer's shop, by relaying a fictional conversation held between cordwainer and shopper:

> Sith we be so neare the shoemaker, let vs goe into his shoppe, to see if he can fit vs. Haue you any good shoes with double solles, with three solles, some corkeshoes, some pantoples, some slippers, some Spanish leather pompes, some good bottes? you shall finde here to chuse, show vs some others, I will haue some better. There is a good paire, they are newly taken out of the last, will you trye them: no because I am booted, but bring them to morrow morning to my lodging, we shall trye them, as you will, faile not then I pray you, I will looke for you: there shall be no fault, farewell, God giue you a good and a long life.[139]

Whilst these vignettes onto contemporary buying practices extol the variety of goods available to English consumers, they fail to reveal how and why English individuals purchased

[137] In Tenby, Wales, a Tudor merchant's house still stands which reveals how merchant families sold their wares on the ground floor of their domestic properties. See: Tudor Merchant's House, National Trust, Tenby, Wales.
[138] J. Eliot, *Ortho-epica Gallica* (1593), p.93.
[139] Anon, *The French Alphabeth* (1592), p.141.

Spanish wares, and how they understood them. The study of commodity exchange practices helps us to better understand English attitudes towards Spanish wares: in his research, Igor Kopytoff proposes that we consider foreign commodities from an ever-shifting cultural framework as, 'what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use'.[140] In short, their cultural signification is altered as they too change hands. In the sixteenth century, an increasing global trade of luxury commodities meant that the movement of material 'things' reached an unprecedented scale, allowing for a dramatic increase in the transformation of an object's given meaning and form. Objects entering the global trade network often lost old associations and assumed new meanings or functions. It seems only appropriate, therefore, that objects involved in these kinds of cross-cultural exchange, however micro their network may be (such as Spanish wares being traded into England) should be viewed through this theoretical lens.

The Anglo-Spanish exchange of luxury goods such as leather and wool, whilst minute in comparison to the contemporary trans-Atlantic and -Pacific trades in Chinese silks and American dyes into Europe, for instance, raises intriguing questions regarding the personal tastes of elite English consumers and their perception of Spanish goods. One of the key issues surrounding the examination of Spanish wares, or indeed any foreign wares in the English household is related to how we define and classify these objects. What do we mean exactly when we talk of 'Spanish' wares? Were these products made in Spain in accordance with the 'Spanish model', or were they wares from other Spanish localities (Italy, the Netherlands, the Philippines and the viceroyalties) that belonged more generally to a Spanish trade nexus? And, perhaps more importantly, were their consumers aware of these nuances and, if so, did they discern between commodities? The issue here is one of authenticity. We can assume that there were three classes of 'Spanish' wares in England during the mid- to late-sixteenth century, including: Spanish garments made in Spain using Spanish textiles or skins; Spanish-*style* garments made in England using Spanish textiles or skins; and finally, Spanish-style garments made in England using English textiles and skins. If we wish to examine simply a demand for 'Spanishness' in England, then these differentiations are inconsequential: all three demonstrate an interest in Spanish clothing regardless of provenance or authenticity. If, however, we want

[140] I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of objects', in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.67-68.

to better understand the nuances of taste, in relation to social class and wealth, then a study of these three categories is vitally important. I suspect that, as with other contemporary trends in taste and consumption, authenticity was prized amongst the wealthier upper classes whereas 'knock-off' wares, which created all the effects of a 'true' Spanish garment but with half the cost, would have appealed to a middling or lower-class individual keen to demonstrate a sense of sartorial flair whilst protecting his pockets.

The major stumbling block in this type of study is the paucity and obscurity of the sources available: most inventory listings of Spanish wares simply describe garments according to provenance (a 'Spanish jerkin', 'Spanish gloves', a 'dozen Spanish skinnes') without fully elucidating whether these pieces are authentically Spanish or made 'in the style of' Spanish clothing. Similarly, we might find orders being placed in account books for Spanish cloth to make a cloak, but the nature of said cloak's style or shape is not always given and thereby does not indicate whether it was fashioned in a Spanish or English style. In Elizabeth's Gift Rolls, for instance, we find numerous instances of stomachers bearing 'Spanishwork' (a type of embroidery made in Spain), which could have been used to adorn English or French gowns.[141] Similarly, the Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a woman's garment (fig.107a-c) made with cut and uncut murrey velvet and bearing Spanish sleeves, which has been described by Arnold as a 'Spanish gown'.[142] However, there is no evidence to suggest that this item was made in Spain; it could, instead, have been rendered to express a sense of 'Spanishness'.[143] What these sources do tell us is that the incorporation of Spanish wares into the English wardrobe was used to varying effect: they could be integrated fully or partially, to create a garment that was wholly Spanish or 'in the style of'.

Recent studies into historic practices of consumption and taste may help to shine a further light upon English habits. As Leibsohn and Gustavo Curiel have found, for Hispanic consumers in the viceroyalty of New Spain, authenticity was not always a consideration when buying expensive goods. Taking the example of sixteenth-century chinaware produced in New Spain, which was designed to emulate authentic blue and white China porcelain, these products were created for wealthy individuals, not as cheaper alternatives to genuine Chinese porcelains,

[141] J. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford, 2013)
[142] J. Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: the cut and construction of clothes for men and women, c.1560-1620* (London, 1985)
[143] Indeed, the gown is now believed to have been made in England using Italian velvet.

but as a means of making real an imagined ideal of Asia. Nevertheless, the labels affixed to the material goods traded into New Spain during these early colonial years demonstrate that there was *some* interest in authenticity. The inventory of the deceased Marquise of San Jorge, Doña Teresa de Retes, reveals 29 entries for silk items (including upholstered chairs, waistbands, handkerchiefs and raw silks) with two pieces listed as being authentically 'de China' (from China).[144] However, contrarily, as Maria Joao Ferreira has found, the descriptive language used in these inventories was often applied in fast and loose terms. In her analysis of Asian imports into Portugal during the 1500-1700s, Ferreira finds that Asian goods were often re-sold on as 'Portuguese' goods.[145] This raises two issues for my own study into the Anglo-Spanish material exchange as I have included Portuguese items that were traded from 1581 onwards, owing to Philip II's rule over the Kingdom of Portugal. We may find ourselves asking, then, whether the Portuguese goods traded into England after 1581 were actually Portuguese in origin or whether this cargo also included Chinese goods. And why European consumers chose not to differentiate between Portuguese or Asian labels if Asian goods were considered so desirable?

As previously mentioned, for the purpose of transparency, I have chosen to differentiate between goods listed as 'Spanish' and 'Portuguese' when consulting any manuscript material pertaining to England's overseas trade. However, this is not to say that the boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese goods have not appeared 'blurred' at times: the aforementioned Customs Book of Rates for 1582, for instance, provides a single entry for 'Spanish or Portuguese hats'.[146] Griffin has found, too, in his article on Elizabethan dramas that many writers chose to depict Spain and Portugal as one and the same: in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587), for instance, the Castilian King declares that 'Spain is Portugal, / And Portugal is Spain'.[147] Certainly, if Spanish and Portuguese goods were sold alongside one another in the first bourse, as they were in the later New Exchange, it is understandable that English consumers might mentally group these commodities together. This is an issue which necessitates a further, separate study into the nomenclature applied to Asian and 'Iberian' goods engaged in the Hispanic trading networks; however, I suggest that it illustrates that the

[144] G. Curiel, 'El efímero caudal de una joven noble. Inventario y aprecio de los bienes de la marquesa Doña Teresa Francisca María de Guadalupe Retes Paz Vera. (Ciudad de México, 1695)', *Anales 8 Museo de América*, Volume 8 (2002), pp.65-93.
[145] M. J. Ferreira, 'Asian Textiles in the Carreira da Índia: Portuguese Trade, Consumption and Taste, 1500-1700', *Textile History*, 46:2 (2015), pp.147-168.

[146] Appendix B
[147] E. Griffin, '"Spain is Portugal/ And Portugal is Spain": Transnational Attraction in the The Stukeley Plays and "The Spanish Tragedy"', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), p.96.

issue of authenticity or 'true provenance' may not have necessarily been at the forefront of the consumer's mind: provided the commodity conveyed a sense of 'Spanishness', it could still be considered desirable. Perhaps even more so if these 'Spanish' wares were made by English craftsmen, supporting English craft industries.

Hispanicising the English Wardrobe and Household

Whilst it may seem remarkable to imagine the presence of the Spanish 'enemy' in the Tudor household, the textual and material evidence points to a substantive English consumption of Spanish wares. Spanish wool and leather could be found on the feet and backs of England's elite, on the walls and floors of their homes, and on the seats and beds in which they sought comfort. Literary texts, wills and inventories from the period include numerous references to Spanish fashions, in particular wool hats and leather jerkins, and many private properties today still retain the remnants of the Anglo-Spanish trade. Perhaps two of the most curious Spanish leather goods to have arrived in the English household are a pair of sixteenth-century figurines found in Lytes Cary Manor in Somerton (fig.108a-b). These two figurines, a pair of leather ladies dressed head-to-toe in stamped Spanish leather, constitute a rarity in Tudor furnishings. On initial inspection, we might assume that the Lytes leather ladies are dolls; their historic costume and simplistic facial features mirror other contemporary children's toys such as the pewter doll housed at the British Museum (fig.109).[148] However, their substantive size (112x40cm) coupled with their expensive material, suggests that these ladies were not intended as mere playthings for children; they were decorative objects, perhaps displayed to showcase the owner's wealth and good taste for expensive Spanish leathers or perhaps relics of their travels overseas. Regardless of their function, these two Spanish ladies serve as a reminder of the very physical presence of Spain within the sixteenth century English home.

Such was the commonplace and everyday nature of Spanish dress in the English wardrobe and household, that we find frequent references to Spanish wares in the Customs Books of Rates, as well as mention of Spanish wools in the exercises of a children's Arithmetic book from 1582.[149] Spanish leathers are also embroiled in humorous tales of everyday sartorial

[148] The Lytes leather ladies represent, in style and material, a similar yet later and smaller nineteenth-century 'leather lady' housed at the Museum of Leathercrafts (UK) which was used as a bottle-top. This particular 'leather lady' pertains to the corpus of practical and heavy-leathercrafts, such as leather bottles and buckets.
[149] R. Record, *The grounde of artes teaching the perfect vvorke and practise of arithmetike…* (1582), p.335.

mishaps: in Ben Jonson's *The comicall satyre of euery man out of his humor* (1599), for instance, we hear of Fastidius Briske's unfortunate humiliation when his fine Cordoban boots are torn to reveal a pair of odd socks:

> I must tell you Signior, that (in this last encounter) not hauing leisure to put off my siluer Spurres, one of the rowels catcht hold of the ruffle of my Boot, and (being Spanish leather, and subject to teare) ouerthrowes me, rends me two paire of silke stockings (that I put on being somewhat a raw morning, a Peach colour and another) and strikes me some halfe inch depe into the side of the Calfe.[150]

Alongside these light-hearted snippets, Spanish goods are also shown to be closely linked to matters of the English heart. In George Chapman's *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (1598), the overly-pinked Spanish leather jerkin is used as a metaphor to signify Cupid's piercing arrow which, so ferocious in its pursuit, has left the Count lusting after the character of Samas: 'before I did loue you, *Cupid* pinkt me a spanish lether Ierkin with shooting at me, and made it so full of holes that I was fayne to leaue it of, and this losse haue I had for your sake'.[151]

Whilst we might expect to find a decrease in the consumption of Spanish fashions during the embargoes, as contemporary inventories, wills and literature prove, English attitudes towards Spanish fashions, in particular desirable leathers and wools, were still very positive. It was not until the late sixteenth century, when the circulation of Black legend literature truly gathered momentum, that the English reception of Spanish dress soured. It may be suggested

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[150] B. Jonson,. *The comicall satyre of euery man out of his humor* (1600), pp.48-49.

[151] This connection between the wearer's body and his leather dress, is also evoked in Thomas Dekker's *The pleasant comodie of patient Grisill* (1603) in which four men, Far, Vicenze, Sir Owen and Emulo discuss the fine legs and boots of Sir Owen and Emulo:

> Far: No more tell Vicenze of it: why should you two fall out for the loue of a woman, considering what store we haue of them? Sir Emulo I gratulate your peace, your company you know is precious to vs, and weele bee merrie, and ride abroad: before god now I talke of riding, Sir Owen me thinkes has an excellent boote.
>
> Vicenze: His leg graces the boote.
>
> Owen: By God is fine leg and fine boote to: but Emulas leg is better, and finer, and shenglier skin to weare.
>
> Emulo: I bought them of a pennurious Cordwainer, & they are the most incongruent that ere I ware.
>
> Owen: Congruent? sploud what leather is congruent, spanish leather?

This play on words, between the characters' legs, boots and skins, is fascinating given the implication that these Spanish leather boots should constitute a 'second skin' for Emulo and Sir Owen; but also owing to the renaissance connection between clothing, the body and the wearer's identity. See: G. Chapman, *The blinde begger of Alexandria* (1598), p.18; T. Dekker, *The pleasant comodie of patient Grisill* (1603), p.11.

that the presence of Spanish fashions in the English wardrobe indicates an ability, on the part of wealthy consumers, to mentally separate these objects from the unfavourable stereotypes associated with Spain, or to eschew any personal allegiance with this political and religious rival. However, the dress practices of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as I explore now and in greater detail in Chapter Four, demonstrate a keen awareness of the power of clothing as a vehicle of communication. During the wartime years, Dudley deliberately chose to avoid wearing Spanish fashions precisely because he did not wish to be associated with England's rival.[152] This boycott of a country's national dress, and the resulting consequences that wearing such apparel might incur, illustrate that the sixteenth-century nobleman was conscious of what his wardrobe said about his own personal, political and, perhaps most importantly, national identity. Instances where Englishmen did consume Spanish wares, and in abundance, however, are numerous. The will of Thomas Settle, a gentleman from Bristol, proved in 1598, for example, lists a pair of two Spanish cushions, presumably made from leather; and is just one amongst many similar wills in which the deceased bequeath 'lether dublet[s]', jerkins and buskins to their beloved.[153] The inventory of the 'goods and cattels and ymplements of household stuff' belonging to Harry Mayo of Bristol (1573) also includes 'Ye Spanishe quisshins' worth 1s. and 'Ye hangings in the same parlour' worth 5s.[154] Amongst the nobility, we find further references to Spanish leather goods: in Sir Henry Woodrington of Barwick-upon-Tweed's inventory (1593), for instance, we hear of him possessing 'A Spanishe leather jerkinge' worth 30s.[155] As I discuss in Chapter Four, too, the Earl of Pembroke consumed huge quantities of Spanish leather.[156]

In addition to the Spanish clothes that were purchased by the English nobility and ambassadors visiting Spain (such as the aforementioned Thomas Chaloner) Spanish fashions also journeyed across the Channel by means of the Spanish nobility who travelled, worked and

[152] S. Adams (ed.), *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.177-375.
[153] J. Bettey; E. Ralph (eds.), *Tudor Wills Proved in Bristol, 1546-1603* (Bristol, 1993), pp.12-13; 39; 42; 47-48; 55; 77; 87; 99-101.
[154] Given their private usage, Spanish household goods, would have served a different semiotic function to the types of Spanish clothing that were worn publically. They would have been displayed for a more select audience – i.e. visitors to the home – rather than for the public eye. E. George; S. George (eds.), *Bristol Probate Inventories, Part 1: 1542-1650* (Bristol, 2002), p.3.
[155] *Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham*, Vol.II (Edinburgh, 1860), p.227.
[156] NAL MSL 30/1982/30, 1561: '"An Inventorie of all the gold and sylver plate, jewells, apparell and wardrobe stuffe, with the furniture of stable, armourie and all other implements of household belonging to ... William, Earle of Pembroke" at Wilton House, Wilts, 1561'

resided in England. State Papers from the year 1570 include a fascinating inventory pertaining to the wardrobe of an unnamed Spanish gentleman, whose English transcriptions and translations can be found in Appendix E. In it, his possessions include all manner of luxury clothing and accessories brought over to England from Spain: a felt hat, a velvet cap with braid, three velvet sword-belts and girdles (two black and one embroidered), a brown hooded cloak with silken and golden tassels (or pompoms) and, perhaps most pertinent to this discussion, a pair of Cordoban leather boots and a Cordoban leather jerkin. It is highly likely that our anonymous Spaniard would have owned a leather jerkin similar to the examples previously mentioned from the Museum of London and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is also worth acknowledging, therefore, that the Spanish presence would have been felt in England, not solely through the trade of Spanish clothes and furnishings introduced by English and Spanish merchants, but also through the very physical presence of the Spanish individuals who occupied the urban English landscape.

Concluding Thoughts

Spanish skins and wools have long been considered two of the most luxurious products of the Iberian Peninsula. With Spain heralded as the leader of sartorial trends during the second half of the sixteenth century, these goods were widely disseminated throughout Europe, even making their way into the homes and wardrobes of England's elite. This chapter has examined the manufacture, trade and consumption of Spanish leathers and wools by elite Bristolians and Londoners during the mid- to late-sixteenth century. Specifically, it has questioned how this lucrative trade was influenced by Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and how English consumers purchased, wore and talked about Spanish leathers and wools during this period.

Through a close analysis of manuscript and printed primary sources, including State Papers, Patent Rolls, Gift Rolls, inventories, probate wills, Port Books, Particulars Accounts and contemporary literature, as well as material and visual sources such as extant leather and wool items and portraiture, this chapter has argued that, contrary to popular opinion, there existed a sizeable exchange of material goods between England and Spain during this period of diplomatic and political tension. Furthermore, it has demonstrated how, by means of this commercial connection, cultivated and sustained by Anglo-Spanish merchants, the two nations remained inextricably tied to one another. The considerable demand for Spanish wares by English consumers during this time suggests that English attitudes towards Spaniards, and

indeed foreigners, is more nuanced than we may initially imagine. Commercial developments such as the Royal Exchange illustrate how foreign merchandise was readily traded and consumed by England's elite classes, and longer licenses were issued to sustain the manufacture of luxury goods, as inspired by foreign craftsmanship.

Owing to the scale of both legal and illegal trade, we do not know for certain the extent of the English consumption of Spanish dress, particularly during the wartime years. Moralising literature from the last quarter of the century frequently lists Spanish leathers alongside other expensive garments as a means of condemning frivolous sartorial practices and new fashions. George Gascoigne's *The steele glas. A satrye* (1576), for instance, exclaims how, 'sutes of Silke, our comely garded capes, / Our knit silke stockes, and spanish lether shoes, / (Yea veluet serues, ofttimes to trample in) / Our plumes, our spangs and our queint aray', are 'prouoking filthy pride / And snares (vnseen) which leade a man to hel'.[157] Philip Stubbes' famous tract *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) similarly criticises women's varied choice of footwear, with their slippers 'some of black veluet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellow: some of spanish leather, and some of English lether'.[158] However, these tracts represent a small fraction of resistance to what was essentially a widespread and popular English practice of buying and wearing Spanish fashions and furnishings.

The presence of Spanish garments in a number of wills and inventories proved at the tail end of the century, as touched upon here and examined in closer detail in Chapter Four, suggest that, however negative attitudes may have been towards Spaniards during this later period, Spanish textiles and dress were still considered too desirable and too costly to simply throw away.[159] As this chapter demonstrates, English and Spanish merchants traded in Spanish wares, and wealthy Englishmen and -women wore Spanish and Spanish-style clothing because Spain was, in the words of Fuchs, a 'proximate model for a worldly culture'.[160] These individuals sold and consumed Spanish fashions in the same way they exchanged and imbibed Spanish wines: with frequency, in large volumes, and because they were the best in Europe. The complex tug-of-war relationship between both nations, therefore, examined here through

[157] G. Gascoigne, *The steele glas. A satrye* (1576), p.15.
[158] P. Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1580)
[159] Bettey; Ralph, *Tudor Wills Proved in Bristol*, pp.42; 47-48; 55.
[160] Fuchs, 'Sketches of Spain', p.70; Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain', p.13.

the lens of the leather and wool trade, reveals that Spain was very much present in the minds, and wardrobes, of her English ‘rivals’.

CHAPTER III

LA ESPAÑOLA INGLESA, OR THE SPANISH ENGLISHWOMAN: MARY TUDOR AND ELIZABETH I

In 1613, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra published his short story, *La española inglesa.* Its subject, the kidnapping of a Spanish maiden during the sack of Cádiz (1596) and her assimilation into English society as a gentile 'Spanish Englishwoman' and a favourite of Elizabeth, underlined the types of cross-cultural exchange common between England and Spain during the sixteenth century.[1] Cervantes' fictional *española inglesa* resembled, however, not so much the queen's real-life favourite – the male courtier, Robert Dudley – but her Catholic predecessor and half-sister: Mary. The daughter of a Spanish queen, and the wife of a future king of Spain, Mary consumed and adopted Spanish wares and traits throughout her lifetime, causing the English populace to complain that that the 'Queen is a Spanish woman at heart and thinks nothing of Englishmen, but only of Spaniards and bishops'.[2] In the 1550s, England's relationship with the Habsburgs came under public scrutiny when it was proposed that Mary should marry a foreign Catholic prince, causing Protestant rebels to stir up public xenophobia.[3] Mary's courtiers too, expressed fear that she should 'bryng in grete forse of papistes Spanniardes & other strayngers' into the realm should she be made queen.[4] In previous scholarship, Mary has commonly been examined in terms of how she downplayed her 'Spanish

[1] In 1596, under the command of Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard, the 1st Earl of Nottingham, English and Dutch troops raided and sacked the city of Cádiz. For a fictional description of the event, see: M. de Cervantes, *The Spanish English Lady* (UK, n.d.)

[2] *CSP, Spanish, Vol.XIII, 1555-1558* (London, 1954), p.49.

[3] This public unrest culminated in the Wyatt Rebellion. The Rebellion took place between January and February 1554 when Sir Thomas Wyatt led 2,500 armed men to London to protest against Mary's proposed union with Philip. They sought to overthrow Mary and place Elizabeth on the throne. See: R. Tittler; J. Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, 3rd edn. (Harlow, 2013), pp.24-27.

[4] Letter sent from the Privy Council to Henry Bodenham on 12th July 1553. See: WSHC 2057/E1/1: 'Family letters and related documents, 1st-4th earls of Pembroke', ff.7r-8v.

link' to offset the cries of English dissenters who opposed her Tudor-Habsburg marriage to Philip.[5] However, as the documentary evidence demonstrates, behind closed doors, Mary expressed an interest in Spain, from her early education to her dress. Her wardrobe warrants, inventories and privy-purse expenses, as well as her court portraiture, show a woman who took pains to fashion herself as a daughter, wife and mother of Spain, so as to acclimatise herself to England's ally.

Her successor Elizabeth, by contrast, did not seek to 'Hispanicise' herself in the same manner; however, her relationship with Spain, and Spanish dress, was no less complex. Elizabeth wore a vast ensemble of foreign fashions, including Dutch, Italian, French and Spanish clothes. By the time she came to the throne, the diplomatic tides between England and Spain were beginning to turn, although it was not until the last quarter of the sixteenth century that Anglo-Spanish relations began to sour. Elizabeth's reasons for wearing Spanish dress were related to her own self-fashioning agenda wherein she sought to be depicted as a peaceful and triumphant monarch over Spain's 'war-thirsty' Philip. In short, I argue, Elizabeth's dress habits served as a form of nationalistic propaganda. This chapter takes Mary and Elizabeth's consumption and dress practices, and their diverse approaches to self-fashioning, as its central focus. It pays special attention to their purchases of Spanish fashions, as well as their gifts of Spanish garb to hand-picked courtiers, which reveal how they negotiated their newfound queenship as well as their foreign diplomatic affairs with Spain. Their self-fashioning agendas, I argue, were both performative and politicised, and saw each monarch 'dress the part' of either a wife of a Spanish prince and an ally to Spain, or a triumphant victor over their rival nation.

Owing to the brevity of Mary's reign, the number of inventories, warrants and account books pertaining to our first queen are relatively few in number and nearly all, bar the years 1555-1556, survive. To date, few dress historians have turned their attention to Mary Tudor. Both Carter and Doda provide comprehensive analyses of Mary's wardrobe, including published transcripts of some of her wardrobe warrants and account books detailing the clothes she wore, received and gifted. The unpublished wardrobe inventories, TNA E 101/428/5, ff.13-16 (Account Book dated 6th April 1557) and TNA E 101/427/18, ff.1, 21 (Wardrobe Warrants

[5] H. Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue: The Construction of a Queen: Identity, Legitimacy and the Wardrobe of Mary Tudor* (MA Dissertation: Dalhousie University, 2011), p.118; J. Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal*, 40:4 (1997), p.914.

for the year 1558), are copies of the Lord Remembrancer accounts transcribed by Doda.[6] When read together with Carter and Doda's transcriptions, these unpublished sources provide a full account of Mary's wardrobe (excluding the missing years) during the course of her reign. Elizabeth, again by contrast, differs greatly from her half-sister: her wardrobe warrants have been the focus of extensive study by dress historians, most notably Arnold in *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, and the majority can be consulted in published form. However, this is not to say that these inventories and warrants do not continue to yield new information about Elizabeth and her dress habits. As I demonstrate later, a considerable number of Spanish clothes, textiles and footwear, that have been overlooked by previous scholars, appear in her warrants. Given the increasingly uneasy diplomatic relations between England and Spain, Elizabeth's real-life adoption of Spanish fashions, coupled with her pictorial use of Spanish dress in a number of court portraits, takes on new and significant meaning.

This chapter opens with a general discussion of the challenges that faced the two queens when negotiating Spain and provides a lay of the land regarding the current scholarship on Tudor queenship. It examines Mary's wardrobe and her 'Hispanicisation' as a Spanish daughter, wife and mother, as shown in dress and portraiture, and it analyses the dress habits of Elizabeth, and the role of Spain in her court portraiture, as shown in *Three Goddesses*, *Eliza Triumphans* and *Tudor Succession* portraits (figs.129-131; 134). Finally, this chapter concludes by turning the lens onto Mary and Elizabeth's closest circles, to see how the queens' penchant for Spanish dress, and their politicised self-fashioning agendas, were projected onto the Tudor court.[7]

Dressing the Part: Performing Queenship on a Global Stage

To understand why Mary chose to fashion herself as a Habsburg queen, and why Elizabeth used Spanish clothing to imagine herself as a triumphalist English monarch requires a preliminary discussion of the political backdrop to their reigns. For both women, their self-fashioning agendas came as a response to the challenges that characterised their queenships, namely: religious reformation, foreign policy-making, gender roles, and disputed marriage

[6] Studying the published inventories alongside the scribe's copies is useful insofar as it reveals where certain items of clothing have been omitted.
[7] Examples of Spanish, and 'Spanish-style' dress commissioned by Mary and Elizabeth for their own use, and gifted to their courtiers, are also listed in Appendix F.

negotiations, amongst other issues.[8] As the first two queens of England, Mary and Elizabeth had the eyes of the world upon them and their need to create a good 'first impression' for their subjects was reflected in both their ruling styles and their public image, as fashioned through portraiture and clothing.

The subject of how the queens might present themselves publically was debated even before Mary's coronation. As England's first anointed queen regnant, Mary occupied an unusual position and her accession marked a shift in the status of aristocratic women and the nature of the Crown at large.[9] Richards finds that, 'Almost every possible issue of establishing and enacting early modern female monarchy was addressed first in Mary's reign. Even the language needed adjustment'; the term 'queen', for instance, having previously connoted a consort or wife to the monarch rather than a sole ruler, was no longer deemed an acceptable term to convey Mary's authority. Mary, and later her half-sister Elizabeth, became known as 'both king and queen'.[10] This linguistic shift coincided with an unprecedented social change in England too; previously, marital law had decreed that all unmarried women be subservient to their male kin until, Richards explains, 'she married and acquired her own husband as her "head"'.[11] As Loades too points out, 'In a world of personal monarchy, where the whole language of authority was masculine, a ruling queen was an anomaly. Women were deemed to be both morally and intellectually inferior to men, and were ineligible for any public office, save only the Crown itself'.[12] Mary and Elizabeth reversed this gendered hierarchy.[13]

[8] John Neale and Roy Strong provide canonical texts on Elizabeth's life which offer a rose-tinted view of her Protestant rule as a period characterised by prosperity and political success. By contrast, early scholarship on Mary paints the queen in an unfavourable light: Jasper Ridley relies on the stereotype of 'Bloody Mary' to cast her as 'a cruel persecutor even by the standards of her own time' who executed hundreds of Protestants, and Hilda Prescott in her biography of Mary, describes the queen as having inherited 'a quick temper, a high courage, imperiousness, and a passion for jewels and gay clothes' from her father. See: J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1939); R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963); R. Strong, *Gloriana. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987); R. Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983); J. Ridley, *The Life and Times of Mary Tudor* (London, 1973), p.216; H. F. M. Prescott, *Spanish Tudor: The Life of Bloody Mary* (London, 1940), pp.6-7.

[9] Female monarchs had existed prior to the accessions of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth: Queen Matilda came to the throne in 1135 but was never officially crowned, and Lady Jane Grey ruled England for all of nine days before Mary was acknowledged as the rightful heir to the throne. In Spain, Mary Tudor's grandmother Isabella of Castile too ruled as monarch. See: J. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London/New York, 2008), p.123.

[10] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p.122.

[11] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p.124.

[12] See: D. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government & Religion in England, 1553-58*, 2nd edn. (London/New York, 1991), p.1.

[13] They were not without a trusted team of male counsellors, however. Anna Whitelock argues that, for the most pressing matters in her reign (her marriage to Philip, the reconciliation with Rome and the Anglo-French war of 1557-59) Mary sought advice outside of the Privy Council. Judith Richards too, finds that Mary surrounded herself

The issue of the queens' perceived ability to rule has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Thomas Betteridge demonstrates how, in Marian polemical texts, Mary's gender was nearly always linked to the perceived 'success' or 'failure' of her Catholic Restoration. Taking Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (c.1577-87) as a point of departure, Betteridge illustrates how the author's depiction of Mary on her coronation day, as incapable of wearing a heavy crown, 'works to imply that a physical weakness, perhaps gender specific, indicates a more general political and symbolic one'.[14] Betteridge also goes on to argue that, in some of these texts, Mary's inability to produce an heir and thereby fulfil her womanly duties, alluded to the failure of her Catholic Restoration; conversely, in other texts, her feminine qualities were perceived as a welcome 'antidote to the masculine arrogance of heresy and heretics'.[15] Scholarly responses to Elizabeth's gender are similarly diverse: whereas Allison Heisch and Anne McLaren view it as a limitation upon her rule, which saw her increasingly controlled by her male counsellors, Mary Thomas Crane suggests that Elizabeth deliberately exploited traditional gender norms as a means of running circles around her Privy Council.[16] The demise of the two queens' reigns, therefore, were often attributed to their gender.

Mary's six-year rule was punctuated by harvest failures, plague, the Anglo-French War of 1557-1559, an unpopular marriage with a Habsburg prince, and ongoing efforts to restore

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with a sizeable entourage of male counsellors, 'the men Mary gathered around her represented a cross section of experienced administrators and trusted confidantes, but few were both'. See: A. Whitelock, 'A Woman in a Man's World: Mary I and political intimacy, 1553-1558', *Women's History Review*, 16:3 (2007), pp.325-326; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p.126; Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene', p.895.

[14] T. Betteridge, 'Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor' in S. Doran; T. S. Freeman (eds.) *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Hampshire, 2011), pp.139-141.

[15] Changes to the royal household occurred during Mary's accession which followed through into Elizabeth's reign. The Privy Chamber, a space which, Whitelock observes, was, 'Hitherto filled with male servants attending the monarch as he washed, dressed and toileted' altered upon Mary's accession, '[her] gender ensured that women replaced men in these positions of bodily intimacy'. Mary changed the face of the Chamber from being an 'arena within which both the ceremonial and personal aspects of kingship were played out' to a largely apolitical space. Under her father and brother's rule, the Privy Chamber had assumed increased political significance with male courtiers, including servants and companions to the monarch, becoming 'political players'; however, under Mary' reign, her trusted intimates were not the 'jousting and sporting companions' who once occupied Henry VIII's Privy Chamber, but 'co-religionists' who supported her plans for Catholic Restoration. See: Whitelock, 'A Woman in a Man's World', pp.324-326; J. Murphy, 'The Illusion of Decline: the Privy Chamber, 1547-1558' in D. Starkey (ed.) *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), p.140; S. Adams, 'Faction, Clientage and Party: English politics, 1550–1603', *History Today*, 32, (1982), p.36; P. Wright, 'A Change in Direction: the ramifications of a female household, 1558–1603' in D. Starkey (ed.) *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), p.150; C. Merton, *The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth*) (PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge, 1992); B. J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550* (Oxford, 2002); J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2004); Betteridge, 'Maids and Wives', pp.139-141.

[16] A. Heisch, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy', *Feminist Review*, 4 (1980), pp.45-56; A. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558-1585* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.6-8; M. Thomas Crane, 'Video and Taceo: Elizabeth I and the rhetoric of counsel', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 28 (1988), pp.1-15.

Catholicism to the realm. One of her first ports of call as a new queen, Richards and Robert Tittler find, was to reinstate the Catholic Mass and restore ecclesiastical lands that had been given to the Crown during Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries (1536-1541). As Supreme Head of the Church, Mary also re-established a number of dioceses and monastic buildings and encouraged Catholic worship throughout the realm. The Catholic Restoration was not, however, executed single-handedly: Reginald Pole, Mary's advisor and a humanist Catholic, Mary's husband Philip, and his Spanish entourage all played a role in driving her Catholicising agenda forward.[17] When Philip arrived in England in 1554 to wed Mary, he brought with him an impressive entourage (discussed in Chapter Four) including a number of Catholic clerics who assumed positions at court and at Oxford University.[18] In 1554, parliament also re-introduced the Heresy Act of 1401 which gave Mary the right to sentence Protestants to death.[19] In subsequent Protestant polemical texts, such as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563), these individuals became immortalised in public memory as Protestant martyrs, and Mary, their persecutor, was villainised as 'Bloody Mary'.[20] The demonization of Mary – similar to the castigation of her husband Philip – served as useful propaganda for England's Protestant nationalists. Loades finds that, in fact, 'Protestantism gained much more than it lost by being subjected to persecution' under Mary's rule as, 'a group which had been associated

[17] Pole provided Mary with secular and religious counsel during her reign. He returned to England from Padua in 1554, as a cardinal legate, to help reconcile England with Rome. On 30 November 1554, Pole granted absolution to the realm and reconciliation to the papal see. See: Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, pp.35-38.

[18] They were prohibited, however, like the rest of Philip's entourage, from taking up office in government. These men included Bartolomé Carranza (later Bishop of Toledo), who acted as Mary's confessor; Juan de Villagarcia and Fray Pedro de Soto, who both held Oxford's chair of divinity; and Alfonso de Castro, the Bishop of Cuenca, who pushed for the persecution of heretics in 1556. See: Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, p.35.

[19] In their study of English religious dissenters, Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman have calculated that between February 1555 and November 1558, 313 heretics were burned at the stake. In this same month, three prominent Protestant clerics Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were forced to partake in a disputation on the topic of transubstantiation at the Divinity School at Oxford. With a purported audience of 1000 Catholics, the men were subjected to heckling as they defended their faith. After three days of debate, they were condemned as heretics. As Richards and Tittler find, whilst the 'Oxford disputations did not mark the beginning of the Marian prosecutions…they did provide an unmistakable portent of the new regime's commitment to destroying the Protestant mainstays'. See: Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, p.34; Ridley, *The Life and Times of Mary Tudor*, pp.152-155; 'Appendix: The Marian martyrs' in S. Doran; T. S. Freeman (eds.) *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Hampshire, 2011), pp.225-271.

[20] Yet, as Richards and Tittler argue, 'However the enormity of [Mary's] persecution may strike us today, historians of the Continental Reformation may well be puzzled by the great attention which the Marian martyrs have always received in English history: more than 300 martyrs in four years seems a small number compared with the thousands slaughtered in the name of some version of the 'true faith' in nearly all other parts of Europe, including Scotland, in the same century…Yet measured in the quantity of ink poured out through subsequent centuries to describe, condemn or defend this Marian experience, it clearly became a powerful anti-Catholic polemical point for later generations of Protestants'. See: Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, pp.40-41.

with foreign influences was able, by a quirk of coincidence, to appear as the chief victim of alien [read, *Spanish*] tyranny and consequently to establish itself as peculiarly English'.[21]

England's relationship with Spain during the 1550s was complex and public resistance to Mary and Philip's marriage was high. Regulations surrounding their union were established to ensure that Spain could not embroil England in military conflict or claim authority over English government and lands should Mary predecease her husband.[22] However, when the Franco-Spanish Truce of Vaucelles ended in 1556, Mary's hand was forced and England felt obliged to provide financial and naval support to Spain.[23] In 1557, England went to war with France in a military move that saw English troops support Philip's Spanish army, that cost the country the Staple at Calais (an important English trading post), and that subsequently contributed to existing xenophobia and anti-Spanish sentiment within the realm.[24] Mary's subjects blamed her dependence upon Spain for these political mishaps.[25]

Like her half-sister, Elizabeth too faced a considerable hurdles and was accused of having a poor handle on her government. Natalie Mears, however, presents a queen that was active in her response to foreign and domestic policy-making. She describes Elizabeth as being 'politically astute and [having] reserved decision-making for herself, only taking a back seat in the negotiating of the fine details of policy – such as the substance of protected marriage treaties – and its execution, both of which were left to the privy council'.[26] Whilst she concedes that, as a ruler, Elizabeth was at times indecisive, Mears makes clear that this was only because 'key issues – like the marriage, succession, Mary Stuart – were highly problematic and their remedies equally so'.[27] She rebukes previous assessments of Elizabeth's queenship including Stephen Alford's perception of Elizabeth as a 'passive queen, who exerted a negative influence

[21] Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, p.397.
[22] Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene', p.908.
[23] The Truce of Vaucelles ended when Henry II of France sent troops into Naples to help Pope Paul IV drive the Spaniards out. See: D. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford, 1989), pp.261-62.
[24] Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, pp.68-74.
[25] As a result of this public outcry, Mary's reign has been perceived by scholars unsuccessful: it was subject to a number of unfortunate events outside of her control (poor weather in 1555 and 1556 led to two crippling harvest failures which impacted the economy), as well as those which she could have diverted (the Anglo-French war and loss of Calais has largely been regarded as one of Mary's greatest calamities). However, as Loades makes clear, 'Mary's government was not weak in any general sense of being unable to enforce its will…[Mary] succeeded in enforcing her will over three major matters: her marriage, the return to Rome and the declaration of war'. See: Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, pp.394; 402.
[26] N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005), p.258.
[27] Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, p.258.

on policy by refusing to adopt any of the remedies proposed by her hard-working council'.[28] She also refutes Christopher Haigh's depiction of, in her own words, an 'hysterical, vain and pathologically indecisive hag', and McLaren's aforementioned over-emphasis on Elizabeth as a monarch constrained by her gender.[29] Her analysis is perhaps better in keeping with John Guy's overview of Elizabeth's so-called 'first reign', from 1558-1588, during which time Elizabeth showed evidence that 'she knew her mind even when she procrastinated; her judgement was not infallible, but her instinct shrewd: often shrewder than that of her privy councillors'.[30] Her 'second reign' from 1589-1603, by contrast, was characterised by greater inaction regarding policy-making, and an inability to place new individuals into her gradually decreasing Privy Council.[31]

Over the course of her reign, Elizabeth introduced a number of changes to the realm and English foreign policy. In 1559, she swiftly established a Protestant Church, initially intended to be inclusive of Catholicism Conservatism. However, she later ruled that loyalty to the Crown would be measured by loyalty to the Religious Act of Settlement. This Act marked England's split from Rome and Elizabeth's accession as Supreme Governor of the Church of England. In short, Catholic recusancy signified treason.[32] Leading England as a Protestant power, Elizabeth went on to sign the Treaty of Nonsuch in 1585, thereby formally entering into an alliance with the Dutch against Spain and committing England to a war in the Netherlands, continuing all the while to fund the privateering missions of Francis Drake and John Hawkins who plundered Spanish ships in the New World. [33] The 1580s saw a number of conflicts where Spain was linked: 1586 marked the year that Elizabeth's cousin and claimant to the throne, Mary Queen of Scots, was executed for her involvement in the Babington Plot which sought to assassinate Elizabeth and overrun England with Spanish forces. The year 1588, saw the Spanish Armada defeated by English naval forces, although it must be acknowledged that this so-called 'English victory' was largely the result of Philip's poor management, bad weather conditions, and the dirty tactics of English and Dutch sailors.[34] A year later, in 1589, England

[28] Mears, *Queenship and Political* Discourse, p.258; S. Alford, *The early Elizabethan polity: William Cecil and the British succession crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998)
[29] Mears, *Queenship and Political* Discourse, p.258; C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (Harlow/London, 2001); A. N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the reign of Elizabeth I: queen and commonwealth, 1558-1585* (Cambridge, 1999)
[30] J. Guy, *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995), p.4.
[31] Guy, *The reign of Elizabeth I*, p.4.
[32] D. Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana* (Surrey, 2003), p.50.
[33] Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, pp.55; 61.
[34] For example, Philip's fleets failed to amass support from the Duke of Parma's army, many of his ships were wrecked in storms, and the English and Dutch sent fire ships to break up the formation of the Spanish fleet. See:

launched its own failed counter-Armada which cost England both lives and money. Despite the reality of England's relatively underwhelming naval 'success', English pamphleteers used the opportunity to promote English political and religious interests.

Given these challenges, we might find ourselves asking how the two queens got their subjects on board. By generating what Richards and Tittler describe as a 'culture of legitimacy to support their regime', created through self-fashioning agendas grounded in propaganda, imagery and physical appearances (i.e. clothing), Mary and Elizabeth were visually persuasive and convinced their subjects of their right to rule.[35] The court artists, Hans Eworth and Anthonis Mor were commissioned to capture the image of Mary, in line with both Tudor and Habsburg royal portraiture traditions, and Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, Robert Peake the Elder and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger were all tasked with memorialising Elizabeth in paint. In keeping with Kevin Sharpe's theory that Renaissance portraiture had the power to transform 'the presentations and perceptions of princes', Doda argues that early modern acts of self-fashioning and image-making amongst the European aristocracy became vital tools in establishing the monarchical authority of a new king or queen:[36]

> In order to receive the obedience of the populace, early modern monarchs had to be accepted as divinely chosen, natural, and preordained rulers of England. The representation of the monarch in text, image, pageant, and other forms of public life became an intrinsic part of the process of creating and defining authority.[37]

In itself, this concept is not new: prior to the development of the printing presses, iconographic medals, portraits and coinage were commonly used by rulers to control, disseminate and promote a carefully-fashioned image to their subjects. Prior to her marriage to Philip for instance, Mary used her coinage as a means of presenting herself as England's first and 'sole quene' and later, when wed, she displayed herself face-to-face with Philip as her consort.[38] In

C. Martin; G. Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (Manchester, 1999), p.5; Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, p.61.

[35] Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, p.47.

[36] Roy Strong too argues that, 'The primary purpose of a state portrait was, of course, not to portray an individual as such, but to invoke through that person's image the abstract principles of their rule'. See: Strong, *Gloriana*, p.36; K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven/London, 2009), p.xxiii.

[37] H. Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of the Robes', in S. Duncan; V. Schutte (eds.) *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I* (Hampshire, 2016), pp.49-50.

[38] Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, p.48.

his essay on Philip's later portrait cameos as King of Spain, Walter Cupperi also describes how the monarch's commissions of gemstone cameos became 'part of a strategy of self-representation', in which he gifted these luxurious images to courtiers and future brides as a token of good will.[39] Whilst court portraiture and gemstone cameos might not have enjoyed the same visual currency in the public sphere as coinage, these forms of representation still played a role in the monarch's self-fashioning agenda and often appeared reproduced in cheaper, printed forms at later dates.

The tide of English nationalism and anti-Spanish sentiment that emerged with the defeat of the Armada also coincided with a wealth of printed anti-Spanish propaganda and the public imagining of Elizabeth as a national symbol. As Sharpe finds, 'More than by luck than anything, England survived the Armada; but Spain's failure presented Elizabeth with a spectacular opportunity both to press her claim to empire and to boast victory as a divinely protected queen who had triumphed over enemies abroad and critics at home'.[40] In the visual culture surrounding Elizabeth (she was invariably represented as 'Gloriana', the Virgin Queen, the Faerie Queen, and the biblical Judith), one of the prevailing motifs was that of 'bride of England'.[41] Despite receiving multiple proposals, Elizabeth famously never wed.[42] As Loades finds, Elizabeth was not willing to follow in Mary's footsteps and risk lessening her authority to a foreign king consort, or losing her subjects' support altogether: 'In favour of marriage was the possibility of an heir, and of a stable and supportive foreign alliance. Against were the dangers of choosing the wrong man, of foreign interference in English affairs and, above all, of losing control, both of her government and of her own body'.[43] Elizabeth's virginal status became symbolic of the English realm, untouched by foreign bodies, and therefore thoroughly nationalistic. Loades argues that, whilst 'Mary had been half-Spanish, and most the woes of her reign were (quite unfairly) ascribed to that fact', Elizabeth, by contrast, presented herself as 'mere English' in her portraiture.[44]

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[39] W. Cupperi, 'Replication, Iconographic Seriality, and Cross-Cultural Issues: New Perspectives on the Portrait Cameos of Philip II', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 16:5 (2015), p.404.
[40] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp.380-381.
[41] Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, pp.89; 92.
[42] Four suitors received serious consideration, these included: Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester; the Habsburg Charles, Archduke of Austria; the French Henry, Duke of Anjou; and his younger brother, François, Duke of Anjou. Philip II of Spain also proposed to Elizabeth following Mary's death, but was rejected. See: Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, pp.42-43; 51; 54.
[43] Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, p.39.
[44] Loades, *Elizabeth I: The golden reign of Gloriana*, p.89.

Clothing choices too, were equally important components in the monarchs' self-fashioning programmes. Whilst Mary and Elizabeth responded differently to the challenges facing their queenships, they understood the performative power of clothing in helping to construct a public image which could allay fears regarding religious and military strife, and send out a political message to their European allies. During her years as princess, Doda argues, Mary was especially adept at creating 'a persona for herself that displayed the public face of an ideal royal daughter'.[45] She later altered her image and 'self-presentation to embody the appearance of a trueborn English queen, using and manipulating the signs and symbols encoded in contemporary fashion to create a consciously directed set of impressions, aimed at specific viewing audiences' and, as I argue later, fashioned herself, from head to toe, as a Habsburg queen consort dressed in Spanish apparel.[46] Carter, in her study of Mary's wardrobe, also finds a princess who delighted in wearing new fashions to suit and express her aristocratic status.[47] And Samson and Richards, in their analyses of Mary and Philip's wedding celebrations, provide insight into Mary's behaviour during her wedding ceremony, arguing that the new queen used ritual and dress to assert her status and relation to Habsburg Spain.[48] Their wedding, in particular, is discussed in greater depth later.

Elizabeth, too, has enjoyed substantial focus in the field of dress and art historical studies. However, with the exception of Arnold's work on Tudor dress history, most scholars have focussed primarily on Elizabeth's self-representation as seen in her court portraiture rather than her wardrobe warrants. Roy Strong, in particular, remains the authority on Elizabethan portraiture, arguing in his *Gloriana: The Portraiture of Queen Elizabeth I* that her imagery represented 'an unmarried ruler of legendary fame, a visionary figure towering above her realm of England, an image of almost cosmic power'.[49] Comparing two of her portraits created as a princess and queen, he comments how, 'In a span of almost forty years, an individual has been transposed into a symbol'.[50] Anna Riehl, too, examines the symbolism and meaning imparted, quite literally, onto the 'face of [Elizabeth's] queenship', by exploring the ways in which her physical appearance was commented upon in early modern sources. Describing Elizabeth's

[45] Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England', pp.49-50.
[46] Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England', pp.49-50.
[47] A. Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', *Costume*, 18:1 (1984), p.9.
[48] A. Samson, 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36:3 (2005), pp.761-84; Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene', pp.910-12.
[49] Strong, *Gloriana*, p.9.
[50] Strong, *Gloriana*, p.9.

portraiture as 'painted texts', Riehl explains how 'the faces of her portraits functioned as definitive public statements of Elizabeth's looks' and identity, arguing against the commonly perceived notion that 'Elizabethans viewed portraiture as a means to assert various aspects of the sitter's identity mainly through the setting, leaving the face essentially outside the system of stratification'.[51] Like her face, Elizabeth's clothing too, I propose, might also on occasion be side-lined by historians as an accessory rather than a carefully chosen signifier intended to convey a message. Whilst this chapter does not aim to 'read' Elizabeth's many faces, it does pay close attention to the material details found in the two monarch's self-fashioning agendas. Indeed, in their day-to-day lives, as on canvas, Mary and Elizabeth wielded dress – including foreign, Spanish fashions – with as much of an eye to the public image they were presenting, as to their status as female monarchs, and the political and religious climate at home and overseas.

Mary: the Spanish daughter

As the daughter of the queen consort to England, the Spanish Catherine of Aragon, Mary's Spanish ties were both biological and conditioned by her upbringing at court. Arguably, her self-fashioning agenda as a Spanish princess, and later queen consort, began at a young age. Her cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, played a significant role in her early formation, requesting that she be educated in Spain as a Spanish infanta and later, when his wish was declined, encouraging her Hispanicisation at the English court.[52] The pair were initially betrothed in 1522, following Mary's brief pairing with the dauphin of France in 1518, however, Charles, 16 years her senior, recommended she marry his son, Philip, instead.[53] This union ultimately strengthened Mary's familial ties to Spain, with Charles remarking that,

[51] A. Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (Hampshire, 2010), p.123.

[52] The English ambassadors explained that Mary would receive an equal, if not more suitable upbringing in England under the guidance of her own Spanish mother, stating that, '…as concerning the bringin vp of hyr, if he [Henry VIII] shuld seke a Maistres for hyr to frame her after the maner of Spayne, and of whom she might take example of vertue, he shulde not fynde in all christiendome a more mete then she now hathe, that is to saye, the Quenes grace, her mother, who is common of this house of Spayne, and who, for thaffeccione she berith to themperour, wille norishe her, and bring her vp as may be hereafter to his moost contentacon'. See: BL MS Cotton Vespasian C III: 1525-1st half of the 17th century: 'Correspondence (originals and transcripts) concerning England and Spain, February 1525–December 1526, principally of King Henry VIII of England (1509–1547) and Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey (d. 1530)', f.177r.

[53] Following her betrothal to Charles, Mary was intended to marry either Francis I of France or Henry, Duke of Orleans; she was courted by Philip, Duke of Bavaria, and encouraged to marry William, Duke of Cleves in 1539. After her coronation, it was suggested that she marry one of either Reginald Pole, Edward Courtenay or Philip I, Prince of Austria. See: Tittler; Richards (eds.), *The Reign of Mary I*, pp.21-23.

'beyond our old friendship and our respect for her position, we now consider [Mary] as *our own daughter* in virtue of this new alliance'.[54]

Although Mary stayed in England, Catherine took pains to ensure that her daughter received the same humanist education that she herself had experienced in the household of the Spanish Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand. In 1522, when Mary was six years old, the Spanish humanist and philosopher, Juan Luis de Vives, was invited to court where he was instructed with guiding her formation. Vives compiled a course of study for the princess, entitled *De ratione studii puerilis epistolae duae* (1523), intended to prepare Mary for her possible future role as queen.[55] Six years later, he published a larger, more influential treatise dedicated to Catherine and intended as a guide to the Christian woman throughout the various stages of her life. Vives' *De Insitutione Feminae Christianae* was vastly popular, receiving eight reprints following its initial publication in 1529.[56] It served as a female-accompaniment to Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), and provided advice for 'The Unmarried Woman', 'The Wife' and 'The Widow', acknowledging in its preface addressed to Catherine, its own importance for Mary's education: 'Your daughter Mary will read these recommendations and will reproduce them as she models herself on the example of your goodness and wisdom to be found within her own home…'.[57]

Vives' *De Insitutione* proves an interesting document, not solely due to its role in Mary's own schooling, but also to its claim to reproduce, in print, the workings of Catherine's Hispanic 'mentality'. In his preface, Vives boldly declares, 'I dedicate this work to you, glorious Queen, just as a painter might represent your likeness with utmost skill. As you would see your physical likeness portrayed there, so in these books you will see the image of your mind'.[58] If Vives' humanist writings coincided with Catherine's own beliefs, then it is possible that they would have impressed upon a young Princess Mary too. Notably, Vives addressed the issue of appropriate attire for both unmarried and married women. Under the heading, 'On

[54] Philip too, following his marriage to Mary, took to referring to Elizabeth as 'a sister whom I love so much' and later signing off his letters with the phrase, 'The good brother of Your Highness, I the King'. See: R. Allinson; G. Parker, 'A King and Two Queens: The holograph correspondence of Philip II with Mary I and Elizabeth I' in H. Hackett (ed.) *Early Modern Exchanges. Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Surrey, 2015), p.105; J. Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', *Art History*, 14:2 (1991), p.214. [Emphasis mine]

[55] J. L. Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, C. Fantazzi (ed./trans.) (Chicago/London, 2000), p.13.

[56] It was reprinted in 1531, 1541, 1547, 1557 and 1567 respectively.

[57] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, p.50.

[58] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, p.50.

Adornment', he recites the biblical claim that unmarried 'women should be modest and sensible in their adornment, without braided hair or gold or jewelry or costly attire; their adornment is to do good works, as befits women who profess to be religious'.[59] The clothing of married women, he argues 'should depend on the wishes and character of the husband. If he prefers simple adornment, this is what you should use. For if you seek more splendid adornment, you are decking yourself out not so much for your husband's eyes as for someone else'.[60]

We know from Mary's later wardrobe warrants, produced during the last five years of her life, that, excepting her coronation and wedding dress, her wardrobe was indeed a modest affair, comprising a number of Spanish garments, loose gowns and night-gowns made from dark-coloured textiles. Surprisingly, despite her 'Spanish' upbringing, Mary owned very few items of Spanish clothing as a child and young woman. Her inventories tell us that, in 1537, Sir John Dudley was given fifty shillings to buy 'cten [certain] stuf in Speyne' on Mary's behalf and, seven years later, in 1544, she was gifted ten pairs of gloves from the Duchess of Spain.[61] Visitors to court also found Mary's Spanish wardrobe lacking: Pedro Enriquez stated that 'she dresses poorly' (*'viste muy mal'*) and Rui Gomez da Silva, the Prince of Eboli, gifted her a number of Spanish gowns and head-pieces to compensate for her meagre Spanish garb.[62] Despite her mother adopting Spanish dress on multiple occasions at the English court, when she died, Catherine was only able to bequeath Mary her gold collar (which belonged to her original wedding trousseau) and furs taken from her gowns.[63] Other Spanish items known to have been brought by Catherine over from Spain, such as a Christening gown intended for her first-born, were claimed by Anne Boleyn when she became Henry's new bride.[64] Neither the

[59] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, p.94.
[60] Interestingly, this advice differs from the reality of many Habsburg women who wore highly adorned clothing, in the form of embroidered or even coloured undersleeves, as discussed in Chapter One. See: Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, p.236.
[61] F. Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary: with a Memoir of the Princess, and Notes* (London, 1831), pp.43; 164.
[62] A. Muñoz; P. de Gayangos, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo a Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1877), p.106; F. Navarete. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Vol.III (Madrid, 1842), p.530; A. Samson, 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36:3 (2005), p.764.
[63] Catherine of Aragon bequeathed to Mary the collar of gold she brought with her from Spain, and the furs from her gowns, see: BL MS Cotton Otho C X: 2nd quarter 16th century-1st half 17th century: 'Papers (originals and copies) relating to the divorce of King Henry VIII of England (1509–1547) from Queen Katherine of Aragon (1509–1533; d. 1536), and to his marriages to Anne Boleyn (1533–1536)…', f.126r.
[64] Anne also claimed Catherine's royal barge and jewels for her own. With thanks to Maria Hayward for her insight on Anne's possession of Catherine's queenly goods.

Spanish gown, nor the hat she wore for her entry into London and wedding to Henry VII, appear in Mary's own wardrobe.

Nevertheless, whilst Mary was *not* the proud owner of her mother's more extensive Spanish wardrobe, she would have been well-aware of the ways in which Catherine used this 'foreign dress' for political leverage in the English court. In her essay on Catherine's clothing in the courts of Henry VII and VIII, Hayward explains how Catherine employed Spanish dress to showcase her Spanish lineage and alliance. In 1519, for instance, Catherine deliberately chose to wear Spanish dress during the Anglo-French meeting at the Field of Cloth of Gold; a year later, in 1520, she donned Spanish garb again and held a 'Spanish banquet' in Charles V's honour at Canterbury; and in 1522, she dressed in the Spanish style to meet Charles when he visited to discuss his match with Mary Tudor.[65] Catherine's dress practices reveal a complex queen who manipulated her wardrobe on different occasions to express either good will towards Spanish envoys and diplomats, or to sway English public opinion. Mary too, having born witness to her mother's 'politicised' dress practices, and influenced so by Vives' treatises on the role of women, would have felt the pull between needing to serve her husband as a dutiful wife and wanting to exert her own power as Queen of England and consort of Spain. This paradoxical mind-set, compounded by her equally paradoxical role as a female monarch, saw Mary play both roles to different effect throughout her lifetime. Like her mother before her, Mary learned to use Spanish dress to make a statement about her status as a monarch and a wife before her subjects and new husband.

Mary: the Spanish wife

Mary's betrothal to Philip in 1553 was met with significant protest at the English court. Many individuals, already uncertain of the status of a female monarch, questioned the role that Philip would play in the union, fearing that the Habsburg prince would supersede the authority of their Tudor queen and realm. In 1553, the Privy Council expressed concern that a 'Foreyne power …by syche vngodlye meanes and wayes [should] dysturbe the Towne quyett of thys Realme' and described Mary's intentions for a reformed Catholic England as 'sedicious and Rebelyous douynges'.[66] Such was the discontent at court that England should be ruled by a

[65] M. Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.18; 24-25.
[66] WSHC 2057/E1/1, ff.3r-v; 7r-8v.

woman, and one wed to a Catholic foreigner at that, that marriage negotiations for the Tudor-Habsburg union began in November 1553 and lasted until April the following year. Mary's future court and subjects struggled to comprehend how she could maintain an autonomous queenship under the influence of the Habsburg house. An initial set of terms were published on 14 January 1554, outlining that Mary should remain 'sole quene' of England and that Philip was, under no circumstances, permitted to take her with him to Spain, to embroil England in the Habsburg war with France, or to assume control over England if Mary predecease him.[67] Philip's role was essentially to assist the English queen. Following a series of protests, which culminated in the Wyatt's Rebellion, a further treaty was presented to the public, this time emphasizing Mary's authority as being equal to that of a king. Philip was, therefore, granted relatively few privileges as Mary's husband.[68]

Importantly, Mary used clothing and ceremonial practices to visually and materially express the nature of her union with Philip, and her status as 'sole quene', prior to, and during their wedding. With concerns still circulating about Philip's status as a foreigner, Mary endeavoured to dampen these fears by using pageantry to show that 'the Prince of Speyne is unto us no straunger, but one of the bloude royall of Englande' and promoting his lineage as an Englishman descended from Edward III.[69] Further to this, at the wedding itself on 25 July 1554, Mary altered the traditionally gendered ceremonials to present herself, both figuratively and literally, in the place of a male monarch. As Samson and Richards have found, throughout the ceremony and banquet Mary occupied the dominant position: entering Westminster Cathedral on the *right-hand side*, standing to the *right* of Philip throughout the ceremony, sitting to his *right* at the table, retiring to the 'King's' household in the evening, and later riding to parliament on Philip's *right-hand side*.[70] According to Samson, the spatial arrangement of Mary and Philip 'was designed to underline Mary's continuing precedence over Philip as

[67] Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'', p.908.
[68] Aware of his own son's limited role at the English court, Charles V crowned Philip King of Naples prior to his marriage, and his new wife, too, made him a Knight of the Order of the Garter to improve his standing amongst the English courtiers.
[69] Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'', p.914.
[70] In the Castilian accounts, Mary is described as preceding Philip in the service and as sitting on the larger chair ('la reyna se asento en la silla mayor y precedio asu mag. En todo el servicio hasta en la plata porque estava ala parte de su mag. blanca. y dela otra parte dela reyna dorada'), see: BNE MS 9937, f.133v.; Philip's place at the banquet was also described as being silver and white, whilst Mary's was gold ('parte era plata blanca y la de la parte de la Reina era dorada'), see: Muñoz; Gayangos, *Viaje de* Felipe, p.75.

England's sovereign…by placing her in the space traditionally reserved for a king and Philip in that of a queen consort'.[71]

In many respects, however, Mary also endeavoured to present herself and Philip as equals. Traditionally, when queen consorts married into foreign courts, they were expected to bring with them a wedding trousseau and to adopt the dress of their new household. Philip, as Mary's king consort, was presented with a wedding outfit by his new bride upon arriving at Southampton on 20 July 1554. Contemporary accounts reveal that Philip was adorned in French dress, in a matching embroidered cloth of gold to Mary, with the chain of the Order of the Garter hung around his neck.[72] As Samson argues, 'their identical outfits on their wedding day served to identify them visually as they were united in matrimony'.[73] Mary used her clothing, therefore, to impress upon her audience that Philip would not assume authority in the union. This performative use of clothing to bolster Mary's position in wedlock lies in stark contrast to the type of apparel the Queen adorned a year earlier during her coronation procession. As previously mentioned, Mary's role as a female monarch was largely unprecedented and, like her Council, she too expressed concern that she might not be fit for the job.[74] Accordingly, then, with her lack of confidence and her uncertainty regarding appropriate ceremonial procedure, Mary joined the coronation procession dressed in the type of outfit commonly attributed to queen consorts, as subsidiaries to the monarch. She wore a gown of white cloth of gold with her hair loose and a 'circlet of gould sett with rich stones and pearles' and travelled 'in a chariot open on all sides, save for the canopy, entirely covered with gold'.[75]

As the documentary and visual evidence proves, Mary's initial intent to assert herself as an autonomous authority, wed to a prince of 'English' descent, increasingly weakened

[71] Indeed, contemporary eye-witness accounts make mention of Philip's subordinate position during the ceremony. See: Samson, 'Changing Places', p.763.
[72] The royal couple were described by one Spanish commentator as wearing similar embroidered cloth of gold with Philip wearing an outfit gifted to him by Mary which was more in keeping with English dress than Spanish fashions, as well as a chain adorned with jewels: ('yvan vestidos casi de una manera de tela de oro muy bien bordado, encima, y su mag. Uevava una ropa que la reyna le avia embiado, que tirava mas al traje de aca, que al de españa, y un coUar muy excellente de piedras'), see: Samson, 'Changing Places', p.764.
[73] Samson, 'Changing Places', p.764.
[74] Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'?', p.905.
[75] Another account reports that Mary 'sat in a gown of blew velvet, furred with powdered armyen, hangyng on hir heade a call of clothe of tynsell beset with perle and ston, and about the same apon hir hed a rond circlet of gold, moche like a hooped garlande, beset so richely with many precyouse stones that the valye therof was inestimable…'. See: Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'', pp.900-901; A. de Guarras, *The Accession of Queen Mary: being the Contemporary Narrative of Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London* (London, 1892), p.118.

following the ceremony and during the course of her reign. When in 1554, for instance, the official titles of the new couple were announced, it was *Philip's* name that was listed first.[76] The royal iconography surrounding the pair gradually altered too and the depiction of Mary and Philip changed in the official Plea Rolls. Whilst in the earlier Rolls of 1554 and 1555 Mary was represented, as with her wedding ceremony, sat on the right-hand side of Philip (figs.110-111) in the Plea Roll of 1555 (fig.112), they swapped positions. It is of little coincidence that this change occurred in the same year that Philip was crowned King of Spain – a title that carried greater weight than Mary's 'Queen of England' – and Mary began to adopt more Spanish fashions into her wardrobe.

Whilst in the lead-up to the wedding, Mary endeavoured to promote her and Philip's lineage as *English*, it has been suggested by Woodall and Richards that the Spanish court chose to envision Mary as a Habsburg Queen consort. Two portraits of Mary by Hans Eworth (fig.113) and Anthonis Mor (fig.114), created at a similar time to one another in 1554, use Tudor and Habsburg iconography to present Mary in these diverse roles as English monarch and Habsburg consort. Whilst Eworth's portrait represents Mary in the traditional Tudor fashion, it is Mor's portrait that provocatively lessens Mary's role in this Tudor-Habsburg union by subsuming '[her] position as the queen of England into her role as Habsburg consort'.[77] This portrait was initially believed to be a commission by Charles V, as another attempt to 'Hispanicise' his cousin, Mary. However, Woodall has found new documentary evidence, in the form of a pension which lists Mor as Philip's court artist, which suggests that it was the Prince who orchestrated the commission. Furthermore, Mor's inclusion of the gemstone, *La Pelegrina*, Philip's purported wedding gift to Mary, and the flowers in her hand both carry connotations of marriage, making it a suitable 'betrothal portrait'.[78] It can, therefore, be read as a victorious Habsburg portrait which celebrates the alliance and its political objectives by 'appropriating [Mary] (throne and all) for the Habsburg cause'.[79] As Woodall explains,

[76] It was listed as follows: 'Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Iraland; Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Archdukes of Austria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy and Brabant; Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders and Tyrol'. See: Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'', p.913.
[77] Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queen'', p.922.
[78] Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort', p.194.
[79] Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort', p.202

> Mor's portrait was probably calculated not to offend English sensibilities, since it was painted at a time when the Habsburgs were delighted with the match with Mary and anxious to cultivate their English allies. It therefore seems likely that Mor's picture represents an attempt to reconcile English and Habsburg traditions and requirements; specifically, to render Mary recognizable as both an English sovereign and a Habsburg consort. The similarities between Eworth's and Mor's images can thus be interpreted as areas where 'English' and 'Habsburg' visualization of these two roles could coincide.[80]

Indeed, Mor had to navigate both the ambivalent reception of the Tudor-Habsburg alliance, and the thorny issue of a female monarch. By surrounding Mary with the trappings of a Habsburg queen consort in her portrait, he allayed Spanish fears regarding Philip's emasculation as Mary's subordinate. Importantly, Mor's portrait demonstrated that Mary could perform well as a genuine Spanish queen, as emphasized by her seated position: only 'true' royalty were permitted to sit upon the throne.[81]

Whilst Woodall has shown the role that Spanish portrait commissions played in Mary's fashioning as a Habsburg queen consort, it is worth working backwards, from Philip's portrait commission to Mary's own wardrobe, to speculate what kind of self-image Mary hoped to project on a day-to-day basis following her marriage. As previously mentioned, full wardrobe warrants only exist for the first year (1554) and last two years (1557-1558) of Mary's reign. There is a seismic shift in her dress habits during these years, with her 1554 warrants listing all manner of colourful clothing and her 1557-1558 warrants demonstrating a dramatic transition into darker, looser clothing. As Carter has found in her transcript of the 1554 warrant (TNA E 101/427/11), Mary wore crimson, scarlet and purple garments, preferring above all French gowns and kirtles.[82] This was also the year during which she experienced her first phantom pregnancy and her purchase of loose gowns and night gowns also indicate that she may have been dressing for her change in health and status. In their research into Mary's wardrobe, both Carter and Doda stress this 'lack' in Mary's inventories for the years 1555-1556, providing only detailed analysis of the full, surviving Marian wardrobe warrants.[83] They both overlook the references to Mary's dress found elsewhere in other warrants, including the miscellaneous wardrobe warrants from the years 1509-1603 (TNA LC 5/32). Whilst brief, there exists one

[80] Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort', p.201.
[81] Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort', p.201.
[82] Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', pp.23-28.
[83] Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue*, pp.13; 37; Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', p.9.

short entry in these warrants which shines a light upon what Mary may have worn during this 'missing year'. On the 2 July, in the second year of Mary and Philip's reign (1555-1556), the monarchs are described as making funeral arrangements for the late Queen of Spain:

> …the Quene of Spayne Latelie diceased wt our Lorde God, Pardon the parcels following further xl yarde of Blacke Taffat for the mantle and vallowe for the furniture of one hearse for the saide Oblisque with xxiiij yarde of Blacke Sarsenett for the Karsenante of the hearse and xxxiiij yarde iij qrtr of Redde Sarsenett xx yarde of [whit] Sarsenett x yarde iij qrtr of Blewe Sarsenett and one yarde and X fall of Blacke Sarsinett for Banners and Oufle for the Rude…[84]

This queen is Joanna of Castile, the previous Queen of Castile and Aragon who died in 1555 and whose father, Ferdinand, and son, Charles V, ruled as regents in her stead during her time spent at the Convent of Santa Clara, Tordesillas. For a significant portion of this year at least, therefore, Mary would have been expected to dress in modest, black mourning attire to pay her respects to the recently deceased.[85] Whilst a popular colour for everyday court dress, symbolically, black connoted grief and repentance and was frequently worn during Catholic ceremonies such as the Requiem Masses and the Liturgy for the Dead.[86] Along with her black-clad peers, Harvey finds, Mary's mourning dress would have allowed for an appropriately 'invisible upper class', at a time when the wearing of new or gaudy fashions would have been perceived as tasteless.[87] However, the existence of this 1555-1556 warrant entry, whilst useful in elucidating Mary's unknown clothing habits in the mid-years of her reign, does not explain why she continued to dress in black in the years 1557-1558, long after the accepted period of mourning had passed. I argue that, having secured her Spanish husband and subsequently suffered the blow of her first phantom pregnancy, Mary wished to 'dress the part' of a Spanish

[84] TNA LC 5/32, 1554-1569: 'Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records. Great Wardrobe. Copies of warrants: particular', f.1r.

[85] If following in the *Spanish* custom, Mary would have been expected to wear mourning attire for at least one year. See: H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, 1997), p.223.

[86] M. Carter, 'Remembrance, Liturgy and Status in a Late Medieval English Cistercian Abbey: The Mourning Vestment of Abbot Robert Thornton of Jervaulx', *Textile History*, 41:2 (2010), pp.150-152.

[87] As discussed in Chapter One, black was also the colour most commonly associated with the Spanish Habsburgs (and their predecessors, the House of Burgundy) who manufactured expensive dyes (from imported Campeche logwood) to colour their trade-mark black dress. Royal mourning attire in Spain usually comprised textiles such as taffeta, flannel, wool, camlet and burato. This was the type of dress worn by Philip's daughters, the Spanish infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, following their mother's death in 1568. However, it is unlikely that Mary herself would have worn *such* modest clothing, particularly given her public-facing role at court. Again, with thanks to Maria Hayward for insight into mourning attire. See also: A. Pérez de Tudela, 'Costume at the Court of Philip II. Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), pp.336-337.

queen so as to maintain her marriage to Philip. After all, she had witnessed the bloody consequences of a childless marriage in Henry VIII's court.

As well as addressing the wardrobe warrants, it is therefore also worth considering how Mary's image was received by others, particularly Philip. How did the court hear of her changes in fashion and how did they interpret her wardrobe? News of Mary's clothing choices and her self-fashioned image would have been transmitted to her husband and court, through both visual artefacts such as portraiture and miniatures, but also through word-of-mouth, letters and hearsay. Without seeing an image of Mary, or indeed seeing Mary in the flesh, Philip would have relied upon eye-witness accounts, and a considerable amount of imagination, to envision what Mary looked like in her later years. He only visited Mary twice, in 1554 for their marriage and in 1557, after all. In some respects, this relaying of information about the Queen's appearance afforded Mary greater freedom to manipulate the sartorial 'message' she wanted to convey to her husband. In other respects, it limited her: her self-image was in the hands of diplomats, courtiers and messengers.[88] These visual, material and verbal clues regarding Mary's appearance, her state of wellbeing and health, allowed Philip and the other courtiers to speculate about all manner of subjects relating to her rule: the status of her marriage, her purported pregnancies, her national identity and her political affiliation. Together, these garments, their painted representations, and contemporary eye-witness accounts and letters, tell us about the type of image Mary hoped to foster in the mind's eye of her husband and the public alike.

Pinpointing Mary's intended self-image in the year 1557 is difficult: it requires piecing together specific items of clothing in the royal warrants which indicate a departure from, or adherence to previous dress choices, matching their appearance in text with their painterly manifestations in portraiture, and considering the significance of these garments in relation to Mary's personal life and other larger influential and specifically *Spanish* trends in portraiture. Owing to the uncertain dating of many of her portraits, it is relatively difficult to match Mary's garments with specific images. Hans Eworth's painting, dated c.1555-1558 (fig.115), however,

[88] Hilary Doda argues that Mary did not '[abdicate]…the responsibility of managing her own image, and [allow] others to take up the reins', as Kevin Sharpe has also argued, but conversely took control of her self-imaging through clothing choices: 'The act of dressing is itself a sign of conscious activity; every moment and choice in the process is an acknowledgement of quiet semiotics at work, of decisions to conform or to rebel against expectations. Through the conscious act of dressing, the physical form is transmuted into something acknowledged as a potentially disruptive Other'. See: Doda, *Of Crymsen* Tissue, pp.6-7.

provides what could be considered a later portrait of the Queen, owing to her aged visage. Mary is dressed in a black velvet loose gown with a fur lining, buttoned down to the chest and left open over her stomach. Her gown matches, in style and appearance, the description of a similar garment from the 1557 warrant that is listed as 'a lowse gowne of blacke veluette [furred] with three score Sable skynnes employed upon the same Gowne'.[89] Indeed, in 1557, the year that Mary purportedly suffered her second phantom pregnancy, her warrants demonstrate a significant turn towards darker and looser clothing and Spanish garments. This was also the year in which Philip was most noticeably absent, and the word at court was that their marriage was in ruins. It has been posited by Doda that, during this period, Mary sought to propagate her image as 'Spanish queen', employing the tactics previously used by Anthonis Mor, to attract the attention of her wayward husband. In 1557 and 1558, four sets of wardrobe warrants were drawn up to account for Mary's summer and winter wardrobes; these were compiled in the Springtime (30 March – 6 April, 1557; 27 March, 1558) and late Summer and early Autumn (30 September, 1557; 31 October, 1558) of each year. They demonstrate a noticeable turn towards Spanish clothing as a possible means of expressing an affinity to the Spanish court and highlighting her role as a 'Habsburg queen consort'.[90] Playing the part of Habsburg queen was also desirable insofar as it highlighted Mary's unique role as the wife of one of the most powerful men in Europe, and it helped to promote this special alliance.

During this period, the majority of Mary's wardrobe comprised Spanish or 'Spanish-style' clothing. In 1557, she commissioned the making of: one 'Spanishe gowne of blacke velluett bordered with buckeram' and the furring of another 'Spanyshe Gowne of blak velvet with twente and three Sable skynnes'; four Spanish guards 'of blacke velluett laide on with russet lase & twiste' and 'purled lase', respectively; and twenty-nine pairs of Spanish silk hose. At this time, a typical Spanish gown would have comprised a square neckline, arched at the centre with a partlet (*gorguera*) worn below, and an open skirt worn over a farthingale (*verdugado*) and a forepart (*delantera*) in a contrasting fabric.[91] A year later, in 1558, Mary

[89] Noticeably, *La Pelegrina*, Philip's wedding gift to Mary and her most popularly worn jewel, is absent from this portrait, although it could be worn below her gown.
[90] To gauge the full-scale of Mary's Spanish purchases, Appendix F includes entries from both the original warrants and their copies which were produced on or around the same day. By and large, these documents are almost identical in form; however, it is worth cross-referencing the two to check for discrepancies in their entries. Fortunately, in both the original warrants and their copies, the entries for Spanish and 'Spanish-style' garments match, thereby indicating that these two documents can be read as fairly conclusive evidence of the types of Spanish garb Mary commissioned and wore.
[91] R. M. Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530* (New York, 1979), pp.181-208.

ordered a further fifteen Spanish silk hose and multiple Spanish welts to border her gowns.[92] Mary also bought a great quantity of Spanish textiles and accessories, including several pounds of Granado silk, lace and riband which could have been fashioned into new garments or used to adorn pre-existing items of clothing. Mary's purchases of 'Spanish-style' garments were also numerous, including: the making and furring of nineteen 'lowse Gowne[s] of blake vellat', damask and taffeta which were lined with sable, coney and luzarnes furs; the buying of five black nightgowns edged with silk fringe and lined with silk textiles such as taphata; five black kirtles; three pairs of black velvet sleeves; and two black partlets.

As well as examining her inventories, we can guage a sense of the type of self-image Mary intended to project through looking, as Woodall has, to other common tropes in Spanish Habsburg portraiture. Mary's dress in her 1557 and 1558 warrants indicates that it was intended for everyday-wear rather than ceremonial purposes, and would perhaps have been closely related to the type of garb presented in family portraits made for private use. Sixteenth-century Spanish family portraits used for public showcase, range from the crudest of examples, such as the types of *cartas* examined in Chapter One (fig.115), to Alonso Sánchez Coello's imaginary banqueting scene of Philip with his wives Isabel and Ana (fig.3).[93] Whilst stylistically diverse, each image presents their sitter dressed in their finery. Spanish family portraits intended for private life in the royal court, however, are less common. When Philip married his fourth wife, Ana de Austria, he commissioned a set of family portraits by Sofonisba Anguissola to include his two daughters, Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, and his new bride (figs.118-120). Philip's 'family portrait' comprised not one but four individual canvases representing each family member dressed in complementary clothing. As Pérez de Tudela describes, all four family members are attired in black garb, a 'less ceremonial and more "everyday" clothing, suggesting that these are more intimate portraits intended for the family' rather than to be sent overseas to foreign courts, or as marriage portraits.[94] Whilst Mary's 'black wardrobe' predates Anguissola's portraits by fifteen years, it nonetheless mirrors the type of clothing Philip's most immediate household would have worn. It is also worth acknowledging that the precedence for women wearing black at the Spanish court would have already been set by Philip's first wife, Maria Manuela, the Princess of Portugal (fig.121) prior to him entering

[92] These welts would have presumably matched the wide borders worn by other Habsburg women, such as Ana de Austria and her step-daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia (figs.7; 34; 35) to decorate their gowns.
[93] See also, the parent and child duo of Titian's *Philip II offering Don Fernando to Victory* (fig.117)
[94] Pérez de Tudela, 'Costume at the Court of Philip II', pp.332-333.

the English court. In wearing her black garb, and commissioning an 'everyday' portrait by Eworth, Mary aligned herself with a pre-existing tradition of Spanish Habsburg queens.

Mary: the Spanish mother

A third possible reason for Mary's choice of black dress was her desire to express her role as a Habsburg queen consort capable of producing a Habsburg heir. Mary's second phantom pregnancy occurred in 1557 following Philip's visit to the court when she was expected to give birth in May 1558. During this time, it is likely that Mary followed in the same rituals and dress codes carried out by other expectant mothers at court before her. We do not know for certain whether it was commonplace for these women to wear specific 'maternity' garments during their pregnancy, or indeed what form these garments might have comprised, for there are few direct references to maternity wear in household accounts, inventories or day books from the period. According to Claire Gittings, there existed 'no special clothes for pregnancy' and many women continued to wear bodies and stays throughout the duration of their pregnancy.[95] Jane Seymour, for instance, wished to be seen as straining at the seams and is described in the Lisle Papers as being 'great with child, and shall be open-laced with stomacher betwixt this [23 May 1537] and Corpus Christi day'.[96] Jane followed in Anne Boleyn's footsteps who went 'unlaced with placard, having put in a piece to enlarge her gown, as ladies do when in the family way'.[97] By contrast, Mary, during her second pregnancy, enveloped herself in sombre loose gowns and nightgowns, presumably similar in style to the Spanish *rópon* and fastened with buttons rather than laces, which could be slackened to accommodate a growing stomach, and held in place with a girdle around the waist. She was described during her first pregnancy, as 'rychly aparelid, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child'.[98] This was at a time, after all, when pregnancies could be contested and it was important to visibly show that one was with child.[99]

[95] See: S. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford/New York, 2003), p.47; C. Gittings, *The Pursuit of Beauty: Five Centuries of Body Adornment in Britain* (London, 1997), [n.p.]
[96] Letter 880, from John Husee to Lady Lisle, dated 23 May 1537. Later letters, dated 22 June and 17 July, show the Queen gradually adapting her clothing during the course of her pregnancy. See: M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007), p.168; M. St Clare Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Letters*, Vol.IV (Chicago, 1981), p.880.
[97] 'No. 556, May 1533' in J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Vol.VI: 1533*, (London, 1882), p. 243.
[98] BL MS Harley 419, f.132r.
[99] It is worth noting, however, that loose gowns were popular garments amongst women of all ages and were not necessarily considered 'maternity-wear' *per se*.

In spite of the sparsity of textual evidence on maternity clothing, there exists a surprising number of so-called 'pregnancy portraits' (fig.122) dating from the late sixteenth-century that depict women in the late stages of pregnancy wearing loose gowns with girdles (fig.123).[100] For Karen Hearn, the function of these portraits was twofold:

> At a time when a wife's principal role was to bear as many healthy heirs as possible to perpetuate and extend a family's name and influence, such a portrait would act as a form of visual 'evidence' of anticipated dynastic success. At the same time, childbed was potentially so hazardous, that such a portrait might act as a record of the features of a beloved woman who might shortly be dead.[101]

Scholarship into early modern portraiture has long considered its intended memorialising effect, employed by wealthy patrons to honour previous ancestors and lay claim to a long-standing familial lineage. What is striking, however, is that this type of portraiture is seemingly at odds with the reality in which it was conceived: in real life, women who were in the final months of their pregnancy were invariably encouraged to keep a low profile, to retire to their bedchambers until delivery, and to remain rested until they had fully recovered from childbirth. In childbirth, it is likely that most women would have resembled the mother in Eucharius Rösslin's woodcut, *Der Swandern Frawen und he bammen roszgarten* (1513), who is depicted in the throes of labour, sat atop a birthing stool and dressed simply in a linen smock and veil (fig.124).[102] Whilst there are no known images of women during bedrest, the *Cholmondeley Ladies* portrait (fig.125) – which depicts twin sisters sat side-by-side in bed, dressed in their finery and holding their swaddled new-borns – provides a rare representation of two women ready for either the Catholic ritual of 'Churching' (see below) or the Christening of their infants.

On initial inspection, these two images of maternity are seemingly at odds with one another. However, as Vincent has found, multiple layers of heavy clothing together with linen, cambric or holland cloth undergarments were often worn by patients as they were believed to be both hygienic and protective. In early medicinal practices, dress was considered an

[100] The majority of these portraits were produced between the years, 1580-1630. See: P. Croft; K. Hearn, '"Only Matrimony Maketh Children to be certain", Two Elizabethan Pregnancy Portraits', *The British Art Journal*, 3:3 (2002), p.19.
[101] K. Hearn, 'A Fatal Fertility? Elizabethan and Jacobean Pregnancy Portraits', *Costume*, 34:1 (2000), p.40.
[102] Indeed, Maria Hayward has found that linens were often given to women nearing childbirth. See: Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, p.168.

important 'carapace that covered the vulnerable flesh beneath' – a vital defensive layer that could help to maintain the individual's humoral balance.[103] Linen smocks, headcloths and coifs too constituted a more immediate protective skin, intended to simultaneously shield the body from external deadly diseases, whilst also preventing the spread of contagions to other individuals. Linens were also relatively cheap in comparison to the heavier silk brocades, damasks and velvets of outer garments and could therefore be changed on a regular basis, washed, burned or even thrown away without a second thought. Symbolically too, linens may have played a more significant role in childbirth. As Hayward has found in her article on clothing worn for public executions, the performative undressing of the accused in the company of fully-dressed witnesses, often served as an act of penance and humility.[104] Childbirth, too, in contemporary tracts and religious treatises from the period, was invariably described as a punishment for women's sins and a miraculous act of God.[105] Could it be, then, that the act of stripping the pregnant woman down to her linen smock (as illustrated in Rösslin's woodcut) was also seen as an expression of humility on the woman's part in carrying out 'God's work' when birthing her child?[106]

Practically speaking, clothing was a means of warding off harmful ailments. The common cold, an illness nowadays easily remedied, was a serious cause for concern in the sixteenth century and Vincent finds a number of instances where the wearing of too little clothing is cited as a main cause of death.[107] Indeed, the dark and heavy garments commissioned by Mary, in the form of black velvet loose gowns, night gowns, Spanish gowns and kirtles would not have been without their own practical benefits: dark colours could conceal unsightly stains and bodily fluids, and heavy fabrics could help to moderate the body's temperature if feverish. This aspect, as Doda has pointed out, may have appealed to Mary

[103] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.50.
[104] M. Hayward, 'We should dress us fairly for our end': The Significance of the Clothing Worn at Elite Executions in England in the Long Sixteenth Century', *History* (2016), p.226.
[105] J. M. Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven/London, 1999), p.9.
[106] The superstitions and symbolism associated with childbirth and pregnancy extended further than religious concerns: in his *Lectures on Genesis*, Luther commented upon the nefarious effects that visual stimulants and surroundings could have upon a woman's unborn child. He cited, amongst several examples of 'monstrous' new-borns, the instance of a young man at Wittenberg with 'a face like a corpse' whose mother had purportedly seen a dead body whilst pregnant and 'was so terrified that the face of the fetus in her womb took on the form of a corpse'. Visual imagery placed around the household and bedchamber was also believed to have affected the unborn infant, such as the case of the 'queen who gave birth to a child with the form and face of an Ethiopian as a result of a strong mental image of an Ethiopian painted on a tablet near her bed'. See: S. C. Karant-Nunn; M. E. Wiesner-Hanks (eds./trans.), *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 2003), p.178.
[107] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.48-49.

whose health was rapidly deteriorating.[108] The practicalities of modest black clothing also extended to their use in the weeks following childbirth and nearing the new mother's return back into society. Following a month of bedrest, the new mother was 'Churched'. Henry Barrow described this Catholic ritual in his *A brief discouerie of the false church* (1591), as an event that symbolised the purification of a woman post-childbirth. Having been isolated with only her maids and new-born infant for company, the Catholic woman was expected to attend church in silence, 'wympeled and muffeled', to be made 'a woman on foot againe' who may be permitted to interact with her husband and peers.[109] It is likely that Mary would have been well-versed in this culture of hiding away pregnant women and new mothers, having witnessed the seclusion of the royal wives at her father's court. It is also quite possible, then, that Mary's garments were commissioned in anticipation of her own period of 'lying in' and 'Churching'.[110] I propose, therefore, that Eworth's portraits also functioned as 'pregnancy portraits': both images show Mary wearing a loose gown, opened suggestively above her stomach and both were painted, I suspect, around the time of her two phantom pregnancies in 1554 and 1557.

Such was the impact of Mary's repeated failed pregnancies that when Philip remarried in 1559, his new wife, Isabel de Valois, took pains to present herself as fertile. In her portrait by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz dated 1565, she is shown clutching an enamelled gold marten head and paws, attached to a fur stole, and strung from her girdle (fig.55). The marten, a weasel-like animal traditionally associated with the biblical Incarnation, was a popular talisman for pregnant women as it was assumed to facilitate an easy and safe delivery. I identify this painting, therefore, as a *Spanish* 'pregnancy portrait' owing to the talisman, but also because of its dating: Isabel was painted a year after she miscarried twin-daughters and when she was presumably pregnant with Isabel Clara Eugenia (b.1566). In contrast to the English trend for wearing loose gowns as maternity-wear, Isabel is shown dressed in a traditional black Spanish

[108] Doda, *Of Crymsen Tissue*, p.37.
[109] Barrow writes, '…after they haue beene safely deliuered of childbirth, & haue lie in, & beene shut vp their moneth of daies accomplet: then are they to repaire to Church, & to kneele downe in some place igh the *Communio*~ Table (not to speake how she cometh wympeled & muffeled, accompanied with her wiues, & dare not look vpon the sunne nor skie, vntil the priest haue put her in possessio~ againe of them) vnto whome (thus placed in the Church) commeth Sr. Priest, straight waies standeth by her, & readeth ouer her a certayne Psalme *viz.* 121. & assureth her that the sunne shal not burne her by day, nor the moone by night, saieth his *Pater oster* with the prescribed versicles and response, with his Collect. And the~ she hauing offred her accustomed offringes vnto him for his labour *God speed her wel*, she is a woman on foot againe, as holy as euer she was; she may now put off her vailing kerchife, & looke her husband & neighbours in the face againe.' See: H. Barrow, *A brief discouerie of the false church* (1591), p.128.
[110] Tragically, however, as we well know, Mary's phantom pregnancy was caused by uterine cancer.

gown, worn tightly and showing no discernible 'bump', thereby demonstrating that, in the Spanish court at least, women were expected to continue wearing their everyday dress during the early stages of pregnancy.[111] This Spanish 'pregnancy portrait' shines a light on the possible sartorial choices that Mary herself made as a 'Habsburg mother-to-be' in the early stages of pregnancy: in amongst the twenty-five orders for loose gowns, we find two Spanish gowns which would have matched, certainly in skirt design and potentially in function, that of Isabel's dress depicted by Pantoja de la Cruz.

There is a fourth, and final possible reason for Mary's choice of black wardrobe, which relates both to her copy-cat approach to queenship (as a mock-Habsburg queen) and also to her second phantom pregnancy. The Spanish *Tapado* was the name given to Spanish ladies of all social rankings (though generally believed to refer to high-class women) who conducted their daily business at court and on the streets of Madrid, shrouded in veils, cloaks, mufflers and mantles. This practice of veiling is reminiscent of Barrow's description of new English mothers who 'cometh wympeled & muffeled' to church, and would have afforded its wearers a degree of anonymity within the public sphere. According to Carmen Peraita, in Spain, the *Tapado* assumed a number of forms: 'half-eye *tapado* (*de medio ojo*), muffling (*encubiertos*), and total or partial covering of the face (*cubiertos, embozados*)'.[112] Towards the end of the century, the act of veiling had come under fire from moralists and new sumptuary legislation owing to the facility with which it 'temporarily [nullified] the demand to abide by specific codes of conduct' by allowing individuals to 'elude exclusions and avoid interdictions considered key to regulating behaviour'.[113] However, generally speaking, its earlier wearers were considered to be elite women whose reputation and honour were worth protecting through modest veiling.[114] Indeed, Juan Luis Vives, Mary's humanist educator, advocated the covering of the female head, believing it to be a 'sign of subjection to her husband'.[115] Illustrations of the *Tapado* are numerous, including Vecellio's engravings of a *Spanish girl* (fig.126) and an *unmarried Spanish girl* (fig.127) and Tobias Oelhagen von Schollenbach's drawing of a *Spanish Courtesan* (fig.128). It is quite possible that Mary, when dressing to appease her husband, was

[111] Musacchio, *Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, p.136.
[112] C. Peraita, '"Like a Portable House": The Culture of *Tapado* and the Politics of Anonymity in Urban Spaces of the Seventeenth Century' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.1 (Madrid, 2014), pp.293-294.
[113] Peraita, 'The Culture of *Tapado*', p.294.
[114] Peraita, 'The Culture of *Tapado*', pp.294, 299.
[115] This was a belief supported by other Spanish writers, such as Fray Hernando de Talavera. See: Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, pp.25-26.

aware of the *Tapado* fashion, and sought to mould herself as a dutiful and modest 'Spanish wife'.

Mary's affinity to Spain, from her connection to her Spanish mother to her marital ties to the Habsburg house, appears to have coloured, quite literally, the nature of her sartorial practices. Following her period of mourning in 1555-1556, Mary's wardrobe warrants demonstrate an increasing transition into Spanish and Spanish-style clothing, perhaps indicative of her desire to fashion herself as an ideal Habsburg queen consort and woo her absent husband, and perhaps also to fulfil her role as an expectant mother-to-be. However, it is also entirely possible that Mary adopted black garb, quite simply, because this colour and form of dress was considered fashionable amongst certain English nobility – a trend that approximated England to its 'rival' Spain, whose stereotypical black dress has for so long been considered its marker of distinction from other European courts.

Material Girl: Elizabeth I and Spanish Dress

In contrast to her half-sister, Elizabeth's wardrobe was less distinctively Spanish than Mary's. However, she still commissioned and received Spanish fashions and textiles throughout the course of her reign. The reasons why Elizabeth chose to adopt Spanish dress are less obvious than Mary's wardrobe choices as, with the death of her half-sister and the end of the formal Tudor-Habsburg alliance, Elizabeth did not experience the same need to wear Spanish fashions. Like Mary, Elizabeth was aware of the significance of wearing foreign dress as a token of good will, and even political alliance. However, as her wardrobe warrants and eye-witness accounts testify, Elizabeth did not always succumb to the pressures of dressing for political expedience. In 1577, for instance, the same year in which Elizabeth purchased a great number of Spanish garments and accessories, her portrait miniature was shown by the English agent, Dr Wilson, to Don Juan of Austria in Brussels. Upon seeing her image, Don Juan was purportedly disappointed to see the queen *not* attired in the popular Spanish fashions. Wilson reported:

> And suerlie, Madame, Don John was moche pleased with the sight of it, and persued it verie curiouselie a good longe tyme, and asked me yf Your Majestie wer not attired some tymes according to the spanyshe maner. I towlde hym Your Majestie used diverse attires,

> Italian, spanyshe and frenshe, as occasion served and as yow pleased. He sayde the spanyshe attire was the most cummelie…[116]

Indeed, Elizabeth delighted in wearing various foreign fashions, not just Spanish garb, proudly informing Sir James Melville that she 'had clothes of every sort'.[117] The Spanish clothes she did purchase were largely obtained during the 1560s and '70s, with Spanish undergarments, such as the conical *verdugado*, and Spanish footwear, continuing to appear in her inventories and portraiture until the early seventeenth century.

Arnold surveys Elizabeth's personal wardrobe from her years as princess through to her final days as queen in 1603. Whilst the focus of Arnold's research are the meticulously transcribed inventories from July 1600 (BL Stowe MS 557; TNA MS LR 2/121; MS V.b.72, Folger Shakespeare Library), she also relies heavily upon previous studies of Elizabeth's earlier inventories, warrants and day books, to provide insight into the queen's dress practices as a younger princess and queen. Interestingly, Arnold examines Elizabeth's use of foreign fashions, paying significant heed to French fashions which, she argues, occupied a large percentage of Elizabeth's wardrobe and, disappointingly, showing less attention to her use of Spanish garb. Locating this type of foreign dress in inventories, and understanding its popularity and widespread appeal amongst the English elite, is challenging. Whilst the demand for foreign fashions was high during this period, Arnold argues, these styles were often 'adopted and modified so quickly that their names were soon dropped from the warrant entries'.[118] Spanish fashions may have been integrated only partially into an English wardrobe (i.e. a single Spanish leather jerkin), or they may have been altered to fit in with other garments in the wearer's wardrobe. For instance, as Arnold points out, in 1567, Elizabeth ordered her tailor Walter Fyshe to rework a black velvet Dutch gown with a Spanish sleeve.[119] A few years later, in 1572, Fyshe was tasked with attaching a Spanish guard to a black satin French gown.[120] Increasingly, we find that the earlier entries for foreign fashions in Elizabeth's wardrobe – an Italian gown, a Dutch gown, a Spanish sleeve – give way to vaguer descriptions of dress styles such as loose or round gowns. In analysing Elizabeth's wardrobe, then, I pay close attention to

[116] *CSP, Foreign Series of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1575-77* (London, 1880), pp.596-597.
[117] J. Melville, *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill* (New York, 1930), p. 95.
[118] J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988), p.113.
[119] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* p.112.
[120] Arnold argues that, 'this was presumably a ready-made guard embroidered in Spain, purchased from a merchant'. See: Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* p.128.

entries in the royal inventories that are clearly labelled 'Spanish', and, as with Mary's wardrobe I cast an eye towards garments and textiles that follow Spanish trends, such as the vogue for black satin, taffeta and velvet, or which may have appeared Spanish in style, such as loose gowns which resembled the Spanish *rópon* (see Appendix A).[121] These appear more frequently amongst Elizabeth's bequests to members of the court.

These latter entries, however, must be taken with a pinch of salt. As Hayward has found in her study of Catherine of Aragon's wardrobe, the trend towards darker clothing did not necessarily always signify a nod towards Spanish dress: 'While black was undoubtedly favoured in Spain, it was frequently worn by Henry VII before and after [Catherine's] arrival and continued to be the colour most regularly ordered by Henry VIII. The clothes might also represent mourning [clothing] given to her by Henry VIII'.[122] Furthermore, Hayward adds, 'while black was quite common [amongst Spanish courtiers] this was true for the wardrobes of wealthy English women who had no allegiance to Spain'.[123] Arnold too, in her brief discussion of Spanish fashions, disregards the use of black clothing as emulative of Spanish fashions. Instead, she pays close attention to only those items which are listed as definitively 'Spanish' in the royal inventories, finding Elizabeth's expenditures on Spanish dress to be rather frugal in comparison to her purchases of French clothing. However, it is worth keeping an open mind towards entries of black clothing, given their Hispanic connotations during this period. According to Arnold, between 1571-1577 Elizabeth commissioned four Spanish gowns that were likely to have resembled the gowns worn by Philip's later Spanish wives, Isabel de Valois and Ana de Austria, as opposed to the earlier square-necked gowns worn by elite women, such as her half-sister, in the 1550s.

A close examination of the royal wardrobe warrants, day books and inventories reveal that Arnold, whilst accurate in her description of these four gowns commissioned in the '70s, overlooked a significant number of other Spanish items which were housed in Elizabeth's wardrobe. As her warrants and day books reveal, during the course of her reign, Elizabeth actually bought and received *six* Spanish gowns along with seven pairs of Spanish sleeves, two Spanish petticoats and one Spanish cloak. Her Spanish gowns are described in considerable

[121] The Spanish *rópon* was a loose gown commonly worn by Spanish and English noblewomen. See: Appendix A.
[122] Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England?', p.20.
[123] Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England?', p.20.

detail: in 1571, for instance, she ordered a Spanish gown 'of plaine blak vellat with a greate pendaunte sleve the gowne lyned with murrey sarceonett…'; this is likely to be the same gown which, in 1575, is later described as receiving alteration and 'new upperbodyinge' with a guard 'wrought with venice golde & silver'.[124] Previous to this reworking, Elizabeth commissioned a Spanish gown of 'white Satten with whole bodies and hangying slevis with an enrauderid garde of golde and silver' in 1572 and later, in 1576 and 1577, had two Spanish gowns of tawny satin made, one with 'a verye great pendaunte sleve with doble Jaggs in the syse and small skyrtes to the bodies' and one with a 'traine and great spanish slevis'.[125] A further two taffeta Spanish gowns were added to Elizabeth's collection in 1600 and 1603: the first, a garment 'wrought with golde and silver' and embroidered 'with leaves and flowers of silke of sondrie Colours'; the second, a gift from the Earl of Cumberland 'flourished with golde and silver like Piramides'.[126]

These commissions are interesting given that, in the most part, they were made during the two Anglo-Spanish embargoes of 1568-1573 and 1577, mentioned in Chapter Two, when legal trade was limited between the two nations. If not traded and bought from merchants, it is likely that these garments would have been made by Elizabeth's own English tailor, Walter Fyshe, in accordance with Spanish designs and patterns. We know that such designs were known in England through the circulation of pattern books and portraits, as well as the arrival of Spanish ladies who visited the English court during Mary's reign and Elizabeth's early years as queen.[127] It is also possible that, with access to Spain being relatively limited during the 1570s, the presence of Spanish fashions would have appeared both desirable and novel. Elizabeth would have been seen as 'setting the fashions', rather than following the crowd. Unsurprisingly, however, larger and more conspicuous garments such as these Spanish gowns, cloaks or jerkins do not appear in Elizabeth's wardrobe, either as gifts or as deliberate commissions, during the later 'crisis years' of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations (the 1580s)

[124]BL MS Egerton 2806, 1568-1589: 'A Booke of Warrantes to the great Guarderobe, Tempore Regine Elizabeth, towchyng her Maiesties Roobes and Appareill": a register of warrants addressed to John Fortescue, Master of the Great Wardrobe for payments for materials and workmanship, as well as for the delivery of stuffs out of the wardrobe, with minute descriptive details etc.', ff.29r; 77v.
[125] BL MS Egerton 2806, ff.44r; 95r.
[126] J. A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford, 2013), p.501.
[127] Philip's entourage included a number of Spanish noblewomen who would have been dressed in their finery. See: D. Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England' in C. Cross; D. Loades; J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.) *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), p.186.

when attitudes towards Spain had darkened and legal trade between the two nations was almost entirely stifled.

Elizabeth did, however, possess a great number of smaller, Spanish clothing accessories that *were* obtained during these years. These items included nine pairs of Spanish gloves, thirty-three Spanish handkerchiefs, one Spanish partlet, two Spanish coifs, one Spanish forehead cloth and one set of Spanish ruffs. Elizabeth also owned over a hundred pounds of Spanish silk (in the form of either cloth, lace or stitching thread) and several dozen points (or aglets) threaded with Spanish ribbon.[128] Most significantly, however, are her leather items: Elizabeth's inventories show that she received 13 ½ Spanish and 'Cordoban' skins, six Spanish leather jerkins and a staggering 869 pairs of Spanish leather shoes, pantobles and slippers during her reign.[129] The high proportion of Spanish footwear in Elizabeth's wardrobe is likely due to its material: as Cordoban or goatskin leather was extremely fine, wearing such material was a sign of wealth and high-ranking. Its wearers could afford to forgo hardier footwear in favour of more fashionable and flimsy styles, and thereby demonstrate that they were not labourers, but members of the elite class.[130]

What is unusual about these Spanish acquisitions, however, is that Elizabeth's Spanish shoes continued to be purchased throughout the wartime period, even when the queen relinquished other Spanish garments and when fewer leathers were being imported from Spain.[131] It is entirely possible that, unlike their more visually-distinctive Spanish counterparts such as the Spanish farthingale, the high-necked gown or the round-cut cloak, to onlookers, these shoes (barring their material) were not easily discernible as 'Spanish', and they also would have been less obviously visible underneath the queen's skirts. It is also possible that wearing Spanish dress during this period was considered a *faux-pas* amongst England's elite. After all, with xenophobia and anti-Hispanism on the rise in the 1580s, England's urban landscape may not have appeared welcoming for those who openly identified themselves as

[128] BL MS Egerton 2806, ff.45v; 121r; 148v; 160v; 168r-v; 172r; 187r; 192v; 211v; 229r; TNA LC 5/36: 'A Book of Particular Warrants to the Magesties Great Wardrobe from Michelmas 1585 to Michalmas 1593', ff.121r; 174; Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges,* pp.138; 140; 234-35; 254-55; 299; 302-3, 511.
[129] BL MS Egerton 2806, ff.20v; 106v; 115v; 119r-v; 120v; 125v; 132r-v; 134v-135r; 139r-v; 147r; 154v; 159r; 166v; 171r; 173v; 176v; 186r; 188r; 190v; 209v; 214v; 220r; 223v; 228r; TNA LC 5/36, ff.11r; 29r; 51r; 63r; 74r; 123r; 136r; 225r; 262r.
[130] Owing to their fine material (many of these shoes are described as having satin soles) these shoes would have worn through quickly, thereby necessitating the need to buy replacements.
[131] These items may have been bought in England, where the dressing of leathers in the Spanish style had been practised since 1555, first under the guidance of Gomes de Navarrete and later in the workshop of four Englishmen, Richard Bartye, Thomas Cecill, Edmund Hall and Francis Harrington. See: Chapter Two.

Spanish by birth or as sympathisers to the Spanish 'enemy'. Given this hostility towards the Spaniards at the tail end of the century, we might find ourselves asking why Elizabeth wore this type of clothing and footwear. Her dress habits, I propose, can be likened to other types of sartorial practices taking place in Europe at the time (including cross-cultural dressing – a practice I explore in the Epilogue) where members of the aristocracy donned the dress of their diplomatic rivals so as to communicate their supposed political and religious superiority. Charles V for instance, famously dressed his livery in Turkish costume as a means of demonstrating the military success and dominance of the Holy Roman Empire over the Ottoman Empire.[132] Elizabeth's other visual and material displays, such as her portraiture, I argue, reveal a similar attempt at self-fashioning whereby allusions to Spain are made so as to allow the English queen to express her own triumphant and peaceful rule.

War and Peace? Referencing Spain **in Three Elizabethan Portraits**

Whilst in reality Elizabeth wore less Spanish garb than her half-sister, on canvas her portraiture reveals a monarch who openly used symbols of 'Spanishness' to convey political messages about her rival nation. References to Spain are made in a number of allegorical and nationalistic portraits of Elizabeth created during England's peak 'crisis' years with Spain. The most obvious being Lucas de Heere's *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession: The Family of Henry VIII* (fig.134), as well as lesser studied works including William Rogers' Hispanophobic engraving *Eliza Triumphans* (fig.131), Hans Eworth's oil painting *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses* (fig.129), produced during the second Anglo-Spanish embargo, and its copy by miniaturist Isaac Oliver (fig.130).[133]

Despite the religious and political backdrop of these portraits (the Anglo-Spanish wars and trade disruptions), contemporary scholarship has yet to fully acknowledge the 'Spanish link' behind these images and the similarities in their ideological aims. The *Three Goddesses*

[132] M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007), p.226.
[133] Oliver's miniature was discovered in the attic of a private residence in 2013. Unlike the Eworth painting, the ownership and patronage of the Oliver miniature is less certain as it does not appear in either Elizabeth's gift rolls or contemporary accounts. However, its diminutive size suggests that it was intended for personal use rather than public display. As Cooper and Bolland assert, because of its quality and hand (Isaac Oliver was an apprentice of the court miniaturist, Nicholas Hilliard) it is highly likely that it was presented to either the Queen herself or an esteemed member of her court. See: 'Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses' in *National Portrait Gallery Online*, www.npg.org.uk [date accessed: 26/09/2017] <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw224945/Queen-Elizabeth-I-Elizabeth-I-and-the-Three-Goddesses>

portraits, for instance, present Elizabeth as a peace-maker in the classical story of the Judgement of Paris: she is shown as wise, superior and immune to the vain sensibilities of the surrounding goddesses. Cast as Paris in this mythological tale, Elizabeth is depicted as refraining from gifting a golden apple to the fairest attendee at Zeus' banquet; the very act that, according to legend, resulted in the Trojan War.[134] Rather than acknowledge the dates of production of the *Three Goddesses* paintings, and their clear links with Anglo-Spanish affairs, scholars such as Helen Hackett, Roy Strong, Tarnya Cooper and Charlotte Bolland have instead interpreted these portraits according to the royal court's preoccupation with Elizabeth's marital status and the role of the 'Three Goddesses' theme in the Protestant cause.[135]

Conversely, Aileen Ribeiro, in her essay on English attitudes to Spanish dress, successfully acknowledges an anti-Spanish and nationalistic undertone to Rogers' engraving of *Eliza Triumphans* which, I argue, can also be read in the *Three Goddesses*.[136] Given the chronology of the portraits, I propose that they belong to a much larger corpus of triumphalist imagery created for Elizabeth which promoted her self-fashioning agenda as a 'peaceful' and 'victorious' queen who, on occasion, dressed in the clothing of her vanquished rival, Spain. This case study, therefore, speculates the existence of a connection to Spain, and a deliberate nod to Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, which has hitherto been overlooked.

Images of Elizabeth as peace-maker reappeared at key political moments during England's relationship with Spain: Lucas de Heere's painting (1572) emerged three years after Hans Eworth's *Three Goddesses* portrait (1569) and Rogers' Elizabethan portrait, *Eliza Triumphans* (1589) was produced a year before Oliver's miniature (1590) and embraces similar iconographical tropes found in previous works. This engraving has been the subject of relatively little scholarship despite being created at a politically-significant moment in time:

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[134] According to myth, upon discovering that she had not been invited to Zeus' banquet, the Goddess of discord, Eris, gifted Paris a golden apple that was to be awarded to the fairest attendee. The mortal Trojan soldier, Paris, was obliged to choose between one of three competing Goddesses: Juno, Pallas, and Venus. Whereas Juno offered to make Paris the King of Asia and Europe, and Pallas bribed him with wisdom and military prowess, Venus presented him with the most beautiful mortal woman alive: Helen of Sparta. In his naivety, Paris awarded Venus with the golden apple in exchange for Helen, and thus began the Trojan War.

[135] H. Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77:3 (2014), pp.225-56; R. Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983), pp.142-85; C. Bolland; Cooper, T. (eds.), *The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered* (London, 2014), p.134; A. Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice. Perceptions of Spain and Spanish Dress in Seventeenth-century England' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.317-339.

[136] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.320.

1589, the year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. It shows Elizabeth standing between two pillars bearing the figures, Peace and Plenty, and decorated with banners titled 'Corono' and 'Exhilero'. Like the *Three Goddesses* portraits, Elizabeth holds the orb in her left hand, and clutches an olive branch in her right.[137] In an allusion to the recent defeat of the Spanish, and the English counter-Armada of 1589, Rogers' also includes Elizabeth's buoyant and triumphant naval fleet, as similarly depicted in the *Armada Portrait* (fig.132). Whilst there are no direct references to the *Three Goddesses* story in this engraving, the theme of peace, as exemplified through the allegorical statuettes and olive branch, makes this portrait a logical successor to the earlier Eworth portrait.[138] This theme of Elizabeth as-peace maker appears in other Elizabethan iconography of the time, too, including Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder's *Wanstead Portrait*, which offers another possible iconographical template for Rogers' engraving, showing Elizabeth stood with an olive branch in her right-hand and a sword at her feet (fig.133).

The question of Elizabeth's clothing adds another layer of interpretation to Rogers' portrait. Ribeiro makes the claim that Elizabeth is wearing a Spanish farthingale and a silk kirtle decorated with a pattern of Spanish pomegranates. This choice of dress is, she argues, a deliberate attempt to undermine her Spanish opposition. According to Ribeiro, *Eliza Triumphans* was a form of printed propaganda intended as a taunting retort to the recently-defeated Spanish, as well as a rallying cry for English nationalists:

> Elizabeth I, for example, felt strong enough after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 to have herself portrayed appropriating elements of Spanish dress as a sign of victorious nationalism. William Rogers' 1589 print of the queen depicts *Eliza Triumphans* not in the fashionable drum-shaped French farthingale, but in the Spanish cone-shaped farthingale (*verdugado*), with the pomegranates of Granada embroidered down the edges of the inverted 'V' of her open skirt.[139]

These types of 'Triumphalist images', Ribeiro continues, were crucial vehicles in encouraging a 'nationalist fervour' amongst the popular classes as well as, I might add, legitimizing an

[137] Other similarities between the *Three Goddesses* portraits and Rogers' engraving abound: namely, the incorporation of a mountainous terrain and a castle.
[138] A later revision of the engraving sees Peace and Plenty replaced by the Virtues, in a nod to Elizabeth's authority and power as monarch, rather than her role as peace-maker. See: J. Wilson, 'Queen Elizabeth I as Urania', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69 (2006), p.156.
[139] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.320.

otherwise costly and dangerous political cause.[140] This antagonistic use of Spanish dress is in keeping with a number of contemporary images that were intended to convey pro-English sentiment. It was also, therefore, the type of visual culture which supported and propagated the Black Legend tracts of the 1580s, discussed in this thesis' Epilogue. Whilst Elizabeth is shown as a peace-maker, here, it is largely at the expense of Spain: she is a protector of the English realm, sustaining the nation's prosperity despite advances from a 'war-thirsty' Spain.

Other anti-Spanish propagandists made use of the trope of Elizabeth as peace-maker to generate a pro-English narrative and tarnish Spain's image. Lucas de Heere's *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession: The Family of Henry VIII* (fig.134) is one of such Hispanophobic paintings. It depicts Mary to the left of Henry, accompanied by her Spanish husband and Mars, the god of war, and Elizabeth to his right-hand side, with Peace and Plenty. The symbolism here is clear: Habsburg Spain is represented as an omen of war, whose infiltration into England is a glitch in the Tudor lineage. It is Elizabeth's duty to restore peace and the honour of her family name. It is worth noting that Rogers produced his own copy of this image in 1597. Both Rogers and De Heere's family portraits, whilst exaggerated, capture some extent of the reality of Anglo-Spanish relations during the second half of the sixteenth century. They mirror the anti-Spanish attitudes voiced by the early protesters of Mary's Spanish match with Philip and the xenophobic public who used Spain as a scapegoat for England's misfortunes.

Whilst the two portraits of *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses* by Eworth and Oliver do not reference Spain quite so overtly as Rogers' and de Heere's paintings, they do belong, I argue, to the body of triumphalist imagery created in response to Spain at the end of the sixteenth century. That the tale of the *Three Goddesses* would have been known to the Tudor court is highly likely; it appears in numerous other classical texts and contemporary dramatizations, and was popularly exploited throughout Elizabeth's reign, particularly during public processions and courtly masques.[141] In both portraits, Elizabeth partakes in one of said

[140] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.320.

[141] Ovid's *Heroides* offers an especially sensationalist account of Paris' folly, as told from his own viewpoint: 'My heart was reassured, and on a sudden I was bold, nor / feared to turn my face and observe them each. Of winning all / were worthy, and I who was to judge lamented that not all could / win. But, none the less, already then one of them pleased me / more, and you might know it was she by whom love is inspired. / Great is their desire to win; they burn to sway my verdict with / wondrous gifts. Jove's consort loudly offers thrones, his daughter, / might in war; I myself waver, and can make no choices between / power and the valorous heart. Sweetly Venus smiled: "Paris, let / not these gifts move thee, both of them full of anxious fear!" she / says "my gift shall be of love, and beautiful Leda's daughter, more / beautiful than her mother, shall come to thy embrace." She said, / and with her gift and beauty equally approved, retraced her way / victorious to the skies'. See: Ovid, *Heroides. Amores*, Vol.I, G. Showerman (trans.); G. P. Goold (revised) (Harvard, 1914), Lines 73-86, p.203 in

processions: she occupies the left-hand space of the composition and is shown descending a set of steps towards the three goddesses, sheltered beneath a triumphal arch and a canopy held by her ladies-in-waiting. With Windsor Castle depicted in the background, the foreground becomes a meeting of two worlds: sixteenth-century England encounters ancient Greece as Elizabeth is cast as Paris holding a golden orb. The three goddesses are led by a fleeing Juno in the centre, followed by an armoured Pallas, with flag in hand, and a seated nude Venus, sheathed in muslin in the Oliver miniature and resting upon a discarded smock in the Eworth painting.[142] This sinuous and dream-like scene from classical mythology is seemingly at odds with the reserved ceremonious countenance of Elizabeth and her entourage. However, when displaced into a sixteenth-century context, it serves an important allegorical purpose for the subjects involved. Elizabeth is shown not gifting the apple – or orb – to Venus, as Paris did, but rather saving it for herself and thereby preventing the continuation of the mythological narrative: she is credited with averting the Trojan War; she is the protector of peace.[143]

Oliver's reiteration of the 'Three Goddesses' theme also follows in the popular tradition of representing the classical myth in Elizabethan texts and images. Since the fifteenth century, royal panegyrists throughout Europe had employed the 'Three Goddesses' theme in pageantry and portraiture associated with the marriages and queenships of Joanna of Castile, Margaret Tudor and Anne Boleyn.[144] It was revived once more during Elizabeth's reign, assuming new associations during different stages of her rule. Early on, it was used by Protestant reformers

Loeb Classical Library online, www.loebclassics.com [accessed: 18/07/2016] <https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-heroides/1914/pb_LCL041.203.xml?result=14&rskey=xsa8xR>

[142] Juno is shown accompanied by her emblematic peacock.

[143] Visitors to Whitehall Palace, where Eworth's painting was displayed, saw and commented upon the Latin poem engraved around its frame: IVNO POTENS SCEPTRIS ET MENTIS ACVMINE PALLAS / ET ROSEO VENERIS FVLGET IN ORE DECVS / ADFVIT ELIZABETH IVNO PERCVLSA REFVGIT OBSVPVIT PALLAS ERVBVITQ VENVS / *Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might, / The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright, / Elizabeth then came, And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took flight: / Pallas was silenced: Venus blushed for shame*. Its display, according to Hackett, would have directly influenced the ways in which viewers understood their monarch: Elizabeth, bestowed with the divine right to rule, is also shown as surpassing the queen of all queens, Juno. She states, 'During Elizabeth's lifetime, visitors to Whitehall would have seen this mythologized image of an awe-inspiring entrance by the queen while they expectantly awaited her real entrance. The painting's position among images of other monarchs, together with its theme— Elizabeth dispersing and triumphing over goddesses, one of them (Juno) queen of the gods—would have carried a strong implication that she was prima *inter pares*, the most powerful monarch in the display.' Elizabeth, she continues, 'personifies peace underscored by power and the encounter is set against a background view of Windsor Castle, fortified seat of her authority'. See: Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', pp.236-237; Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses' in *Royal Collection Online*, www.royalcollection.org.uk [date accessed: 26/09/2017] <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403446/elizabeth-i-and-the-three-goddesses>

[144] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', p.230.

to promote Elizabeth's role as champion of the new faith.[145] Later manifestations of Elizabeth as Paris presented the queen as the physical embodiment of 'an everlasting peace' and a harbinger of 'religious harmony'.[146] Strong, however, situates Eworth's painting in line with specific events concerning Elizabeth's marital status during the late 1560s. In 1569, the question of marriage hovered over Elizabeth, and the symbolic significance of the 'Three Goddesses' theme would not have been lost on her: Elizabeth had been made aware of her vulnerability as an unmarried, female monarch since her accession. According to Strong, by refraining from offering Venus the golden apple (or orb) Elizabeth is placated by Juno, the goddess of marriage, and not given to lust like her predecessor, Paris. Previous wedding ceremonies amongst the English nobility, including the union of Thomas Mildmay and Frances Radcliffe, which Elizabeth had attended in 1566, made use of the 'Three Goddesses' theme by awarding the fairest maiden – the bride – with a golden apple in a triumphal celebration of conjugal love. Hackett argues that we can extend Strong's interpretation to consider the role of matrimony in the legitimization of Elizabeth's role as monarch, suggesting that, 'as well as affirming Elizabeth's royal authority, *Three Goddesses I* strongly implies that, to sustain and protect that authority, she needs to embrace marriage (personified by Juno) and love (personified by Venus) as well as wisdom and martial power (personified by Pallas)'.[147] By withholding the golden apple/orb for herself, Elizabeth is shown to be the 'fairest of them all', embodying the positive attributes of these three unearthly goddesses.

It is important to stress, in light of these iconographical references to Elizabeth as peace-maker that, up until the 1580s, Anglo-Spanish relations were relatively positive as both parties sought to maintain a strong alliance, albeit for their own fiscal and political benefit. The popular characterisation of Spain and England as 'sworn enemies' in Black Legend literature and visual culture ignores the reality that each nation relied upon the other for support, and that the Anglo-Spanish war was not necessarily an inevitable outcome of years of mistrust, but a hotly-debated and keenly-resisted moment of downfall in what were otherwise generally good relations.[148]

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[145] Hackett argues that, 'Identifying Elizabeth with classical goddesses helped to negotiate the challenge of asserting that she was God's anointed and his earthly agent to advance the true faith, while avoiding forms of praise of her sacredness that might smack of idolatry and the Catholic cult of saints.' See: Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', p.240.

[146] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', pp.242; 255.

[147] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', p.237.

[148] As Croft argues, 'Both monarchs presided over courts and councils in which multiple strategies were debated. Each contained what may roughly be described as a peace-leaning party and an aggressive party, so policy was shaped not least by whichever of the two factions was temporarily in the ascendant', See: P. Croft, 'The State of the World is Marvellously Changed: England, Spain and Europe, 1558-1604' in S. Doran; G. Richardson (eds.) *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Hampshire/ New York, 2005), p.183.

Despite their differing religious views and Philip's desire for Elizabeth to reconsider her plans for religious reformation, contemporary accounts reveal that during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, she and Philip maintained a fraternal relationship, with Philip calling her his 'sister', and William Cecil acknowledging the 'earnest and very brotherly friendship' of Philip towards Elizabeth.[149] As Doran has also noted, Elizabeth was equally cordial to the Spanish ambassadors at court, taking care 'to explain her policies to them in terms that would reassure the king of her good intentions'.[150] Ultimately, however, both nations were a pawn in one another's larger foreign policy: Elizabeth needed Spain to ward off France, and Philip needed England on side so he could reclaim the Low Countries. It was in their mutual interests, therefore, to maintain a peaceful alliance. Taking into consideration his greater plans for the Netherlands, Philip's attack on England in 1588 must be read, Croft argues, as 'a means to bring about a greater end'.[151] It was also a period when Elizabeth repeatedly attempted no less than five peace negotiations with Spain from 1585 to 1588.[152]

It is no coincidence that these portraits of Elizabeth, so emblematic of peace, should have been produced during periods of significant Anglo-Spanish tension. Public propaganda would have been perceived as a necessary means of quelling any anxieties about conflict. Given their dates, I propose that the theme of peace-maker was deliberately re-introduced by Eworth, Oliver and Rogers as a response to these two political events, the trade embargo and the Armada (and Counter-Armada), and that this theme was achieved through the use of a common iconographical vocabulary – an olive branch, the figures of Plenty and Peace, and the Judgement of Paris – which would have been familiar to, and easily interpreted by Elizabeth's court. This ideology of 'peace' extended beyond the domestic realm, it was a nod to England's longstanding link to Spain.

[149] Croft, 'The State of the World', pp.129;179.
[150] S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London, 2000), p.14.
[151] Croft, 'The State of the World', p.183.
[152] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603*, p.52.

Setting the Standard: Prescribing Dress Codes through Gift-Giving

Visually, court portraits such as the *Three Goddesses* and *Eliza Triumphans* provide useful insight into the types of luxury clothing worn by the English monarchy. For the courtiers, too, similar types of portraiture exist that represent the elite wardrobe; a handful of these are discussed in Chapter Four. Barring inventories, some of the clearest indicators of how the English court, however, would have looked during these years of Anglo-Spanish exchange can be found in episodes of gift-giving where clothing has been presented to, or commissioned for, individuals or groups at court. We can gauge some sense of how the wider Tudor court and royal livery would have appeared – and how Mary and Elizabeth sought to project their *own* self-fashioning agendas onto their subjects – based on the royal warrants and gift rolls which make mention of such clothing and textiles. These gifts from Mary and Elizabeth, presented either ceremoniously to their subjects at the New Year's celebrations or on various occasions throughout the year, tell us about how the queens apparelled their court in keeping with the standards they deemed appropriate, and in line with their own wardrobes. They also, therefore, inform us about which items of Spanish or Spanish-style clothing were bought and worn by courtly individuals of their own volition, and which were bestowed upon them by their royal patrons.

During her brief reign, Mary, in particular, used gifts of clothing to encourage her female entourage to mirror her own apparel. In 1557, for instance, the year that Mary succumbed to black dress, Mary's ladies-in-waiting and livery also received a number of dark-coloured fabrics and clothes. Mary's warrants from 1557 and 1558 include eight gifts for her entourage and livery, including several yards of black velvet, satin, and Granado silk, as well as loose gowns and partlets. On 31 October 1558, Lady Jane Seymour, for instance, received 'a loose gowne of Black damaske…lyned with ffustian garded with iij weltes of Blacke Veluett and Stitched and whipped with purled Lace…', and earlier, on 30 March 1557, the yeoman, Thomas Rutlage, was given three yards of black satin.[153] Later, on 27 March 1558, Mary dressed her ushers and Officers of the Chamber in fifteen yards of black velvet and thirty yards of black satin.[154] Mary's insistence upon creating this black-clad entourage supports my earlier argument that she sought to present herself as an ideal 'Spanish queen consort' whose household could match, in austerity and sartorial sophistication, that of her Habsburg husband,

[153] TNA LC 5/31: 'Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous. Great Wardrobe, 1557-1558', ff.58r; 107r.
[154] TNA LC 5/31: 'Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous. Great Wardrobe, 1557-1558', f.96r.

Philip. However, it is also entirely plausible that, upon entering what was presumed to be her second pregnancy, Mary sought to surround herself with a female entourage whose clothing was discreet and would not court male attention. Mary fashioned herself, and her ladies, in a uniform that would have been deemed suitable attire for a married woman in her state.[155]

In contrast to her half-sister, Elizabeth has generally been perceived as owning a more dazzling wardrobe. Indeed, her wardrobe warrants and day books are proof that she did not shy away from new fashions, luxurious textiles or jewels. However, what these documentary sources also reveal is the relative frequency with which Elizabeth dressed her ladies-in-waiting in sombre black or Spanish clothing. Between the years 1560 and 1583, Elizabeth's ladies received Spanish gowns, capes and silks: Lady Elizabeth Sands, for instance, was gifted 'oone Spanish gowne of unshorne vellat, ruffed with taphata, sett with buttons and lowpes, lyned with taphata'; Lady Mary Radcliff was given 'a spanishe Gowne of blak vellat with great pendaunte slevis and a longe Traine…'; Lady Kathryn Newton received 'a spanishe Gowne with a Traine and greate slevis of tawnye vellat'; and Lady Winnifred Twist was given 'Eleven ouncs iii quarters of Lase made of spanyshe and jeane silke: sixe blake silke buttons and two ouncs quarter of blake spanishe silke' to be used on a gown.[156] Elizabeth also extended her gifts of Spanish clothing beyond her immediate female circle, and in 1575 gave the Lord Cobham's son a luxurious 'Spanishe Cape of of carnacion vellat…layed round aboute & byas by thedge with venice silver lace lyned with white satten rased & pinked'.[157]

[155] This is not to say that Mary did not present her ladies with more colourful items of clothing during her reign: special occasions, such as marriages, appear to have warranted more joyful pieces presumably intended to emphasize the transitional and celebratory nature of the event. In 1558, for instance, Mary gifted Marnie Farnegan with russet-coloured velvets for her wedding ceremony. Whilst Marnie's outfit could not rival the expense and grandeur of Mary's own wedding gown – made entirely from white cloth of gold – it is possible that this textile was intended as a cheaper replica to Mary's more expensive fabric. Russet-coloured velvet would have afforded her wedding outfit a sense of luxury appropriate to a noble marriage ceremony, but without the regal connotations of cloth of gold. Other ladies-in-waiting were more fortunate than Marnie and were gifted more expensive clothing appropriate to their rank: in the same year, for example, Lady Anne Somerset received cloth of silver whilst Lady Jane Seymour was given a French kirtle also made from cloth of silver, lined with sarsenet and edged with white velvet. Lady Katherine Grey too was gifted a French kirtle of yellow satin, lined with yellow taffeta sarsenet and eded with yellow velvet. However, even these more colourful instances, which appear infrequently amongst the many bequests of black clothing and cloth made in Mary's warrants and gift rolls, still match the monarch's own dress practices. Mary's everyday apparel was largely restrained, opting for the same dark and practical wardrobe of the Habsburg queens, whilst erring into more opulent and decorative garb for one-off, special occasions. See: TNA LC 5/31: 'Mary: Wardrobe Warrant for 31 October 1558', f.110r; TNA E 101/427/18: 'Warrants subsidiary to accounts of the great wardrobe. 1 to 6 Mary' f.21r.

[156] *The Gentleman's and London Magazine: Or Monthly Chronologer, 1741-1794* (January, 1754), n.p.; BL MS Egerton 2806, ff.82v; 131r; 187r.

[157] BL MS Egerton 2806, f.98v.

The Newton family, the Barons of Cobham, were highly favoured by Elizabeth with the aforementioned Kathryn and her sister, Frances Newton (Baroness Cobham) serving as Ladies to the royal Bedchamber. Their names appear frequently in Elizabeth's Day Book during the years 1561 to 1585, as the recipients of a number of valuable gifts of clothing. These clothes are nearly always black in colour, featuring sumptuous velvets, satins and taffetas and comprising garments such as loose gowns, kirtles, caps, trains, stays and cloaks. Frances is noted as having received a 'yard of blake vellat two yerds of blake Satten and thre yerds of blake Sarceonett', one yard of black satin to make 'mufflers' and 'forehedclothes', as well as several more yards of black velvet, satin and taffeta presumably intended to make a cloak or gown.[158] A family portrait of the Newton's, painted in 1567, shows Frances with her relatives dressed in this familiar black attire (fig.135). Amongst the entries in Elizabeth's Day Book, Elizabeth Norwich (Lady Carew) also makes a regular appearance, having been gifted large quantities black velvet, satin and sarsenet, whilst Mrs Elizabeth Marberry, Dorothy Stafford, Katheryn Champernowne (Lady Astley), and Anne Knollys are all shown to be the fortunate recipients of black taffeta, satin and velvet gowns and kirtles.[159] The substantial proportion of black clothing listed in Elizabeth's inventories, and commissioned for her closest companions, is remarkable given its historical associations with Philip's Habsburg court and the English anti-Spanish rhetoric concerning the Spanish practice of wearing black. As mentioned in Chapter One, Spanish clothing was often ridiculed by anti-Hispanists for appearing too morose in colour and for alluding to Philip's religious asceticism and yet, in spite of these criticisms, black clothing was commonplace in the Tudor wardrobe.

These documents, however, only give us a fragmentary glimpse of what Mary and Elizabeth's entourage would have looked like, or at least how they were encouraged to dress by their royal patrons. Behind closed doors, it is entirely possible that these gifted clothes may have never been worn by their recipients; they may have remained in their wardrobes untouched, or have been replaced by newer items of clothing, better suited to the personal tastes of the wearer. This is true of any item of clothing purchased by the elite wearer, whose personal funds could afford them the privilege of choosing and discarding clothing more freely than their less fortunate social peers. We can only speculate, then, as to the nature of the garments' usage. However, taking into consideration contemporary or handed down to members of the household, it was more likely that the items listed in household inventories were worn by their

[158] TNA C 115/91: 'Day book of Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe of robes', ff.3r; 5r; 8v; 15v.
[159] TNA C 115/91: 'Day book of Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe of robes', ff.3r; 4r-5r; 7v; 12v; 15v; 16v.

wearers. With the high costs of luxury textiles, clothing was very much a means of displaying one's wealth on one's body. As I next explore in Chapter Four, this form of conspicuous consumption is evidenced in the household inventories of England's elite where they demonstrate a keen eye for luxurious and foreign wares, with Spanish clothing and furnishings featuring on their list of desirable household and sartorial possessions.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has raised the curtain on an area of royal dress history that has been previously overlooked by scholars. It has probed the reasons as to why Mary and Elizabeth wore Spanish dress, at a time when the very terms 'Spain' and 'Spanish' were loaded with signification in the English public imagination, to understand how the two queens negotiated their foreign ally at times of peace and war. Given the ambivalence towards Spain during the sixteenth century, it does not suffice to simply view Mary and Elizabeth's consumption of Spanish textiles as an indulgence in foreign fashions and luxuries. These clothing choices were, I argue, a deliberate ploy in a much larger self-fashioning agenda which sought to tackle a number of other key issues, including foreign policy, religious reformation, gender roles and marriage, in which Spain was inextricably linked. By incorporating Spanish dress into their wardrobes and portraiture, the queens communicated their political stances towards their former ally, and later enemy. In the case of Mary, this self-fashioning took the form of becoming an ideal Habsburg queen consort, mother-to-be and daughter, whilst Elizabeth, conversely, modelled herself as a harbinger of peace and prosperity, relentlessly staving off conflict in the face of a war-thirsty Spain.

Mary and Elizabeth's use of foreign Spanish fashions was ultimately political. They were keyed into specific events at court and overseas – the arrival of Philip, the anticipated birth of a Habsburg heir, the Armada – as well England's responses to foreign policy. As this chapter has demonstrated, Mary and Elizabeth's use of Spanish clothing took a number of different forms. For Mary, her purchases of Spanish and black dress have been linked to four possible areas of motivation: firstly, her desire to show support for the Anglo-Spanish alliance and demonstrate an approximation to Spain, as seen with her transformation into an Habsburg queen consort; secondly, her need to express good will towards Spain, as evidenced during her mourning period for the late Queen Joanna of Castile; thirdly, her interest in presenting herself as an Habsburg queen consort capable of producing an Habsburg heir; and fourthly, her desire

to dress as other elite Spanish women did at the time, adopting modest garb comparable to the Spanish *tapado*.

Elizabeth's sartorial habits, by contrast, did not express the same need to become 'Hispanicised' *per se*, but, they did provide commentary upon the nature of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations. As found through a study of her warrants, the majority of Elizabeth's Spanish purchases emerged after the second Anglo-Spanish embargo through to the end of her reign in 1603. Whilst the types of Spanish wares Elizabeth consumed changed during the wartime years (she shifted from wearing Spanish dresses to Spanish shoes, for instance), her interest in these foreign goods never fully waned. On the basis of the evidence of increased representation of Spanish fashions, together with references to Spain in her court portraiture towards the end of the century, I conclude that Elizabeth's use of Spanish garb was as politically-charged as Mary's, however, to different effect. Elizabeth wore Spanish garb not to affiliate herself with her now-rival nation of Spain, but to comment upon their diplomatic relationship and the triumphant and peaceful position of England. Hers was a nationalistic stance. Whilst discussed only in brief here, the self-fashioning agendas of the two queens also extended through to their closest circles at court and research into their gift rolls and warrants reveals that a number of courtiers were gifted fine examples of Spanish clothing to emulate their female monarchs. Chapter Four shows how the wider English court, including the so-called 'Spanish Factions', adopted Spanish garb during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, and it explores the trend for 'Hispanophilia' amongst the English elite.

CHAPTER IV

APPROXIMATING SPAIN: SPANISH FASHIONS AND HISPANOPHILIA IN TUDOR ENGLAND

Spanish clothing and furnishings abound in the household accounts of England's Tudor elite. In his 1561 inventory, William Herbert, the 1st Earl of Pembroke and member of the 'Spanish Faction' at Mary's court, lists no fewer than eleven Spanish leather jerkins, twenty-four pairs of Spanish leather boots, buskins, and shoes, and one Spanish leather purse, with most articles adorned with lace, gold and silver.[1] As explored in Chapter Three, Queen Mary and her half-sister, Elizabeth, too, were popular consumers of Spanish fashions and regularly indulged in Spanish customs and culture, in spite of the often challenging diplomatic relations binding the two nations together. This chapter probes the role of Hispanophilia and its twin phenomenon, which I term 'pseudo-Hispanophilia', amongst the English elite classes; a widespread and yet little-studied trend which has oftentimes been overlooked by scholars of Anglo-Spanish relations, and overshadowed by the history of the Black Legend. Whilst Hispanophilia can be broadly defined as an expression of interest in, or love for Spain, 'pseudo-Hispanophilia', I argue, is characterised by the individual's approximation towards Spain, and Spanish fashions, which was often pursued with ulterior motives. I demonstrate that it was this interest in Spain (both pseudo and genuine) – which took the form of borrowing, emulating and appropriating Spanish visual, material and textual culture – that lodged Spain firmly in the minds of her English rivals. Moreover, I propose that the consumption of Spanish fashions was oftentimes used by the English nobility for deliberate political effect to gain leverage with Spain and the Spanish entourage at court. The so-called 'Spanish Faction' (a group of Spanish nobles affiliated with Philip's Spanish entourage) were one such group who displayed their purported

[1] NAL MSL 1982/30: 'An Inventorie of all the gold and sylver plate, jewells, apparel and wardrove stuffe, with the furniture of stable, armourie and all other implements of household belonging to…William, Earle of Pembroke at Wilton House, Wilts, 1561'

fidelity to the Spanish household when Philip married Mary; however, there also existed a number of other English noble families who exhibited supposedly Hispanophilic tendencies, wearing Spanish dress, affiliating themselves with Spanish nobles and, in some cases, becoming Catholic recusants during Elizabeth's reign.

The central focus of this chapter is the English nobility and the Spanish clothes, textiles and accessories that they commissioned and consumed. Very few of these material objects survive today: I therefore deploy a number of textual sources including household accounts, family papers, day books, account books and travel accounts that detail each item of Spanish clothing and cloth to enter or leave an individual's wardrobe. These sources are valuable in helping us to piece together a quantitative survey of Tudor dress practices, as seen in the accompanying Appendix F to Chapter Three, as well as to assess how the individual's sartorial tastes changed over the course of their lifetime. Together with letters and eye-witness accounts, we can gauge a sense of why individuals bought Spanish garments, how they imparted cultural meaning onto these items of clothing, and how they used them within the political context of the court. Moreover, these types of qualitative sources are invaluable as they reveal the types of social and cultural interactions in which articles of clothing were exchanged and, as Rublack finds, 'why the material and immaterial, interest and emotion must not be thought of in opposition to each other'.[2] For early modern people, their emotions, thoughts and ideologies were inextricably bound up in the material objects they consumed, gifted and exchanged.

In light of the 'immaterial' value of these material objects, Spanish clothing, I propose, was consumed in England not without a second thought to its provenance and not simply because it was a luxury good, but also with an awareness of its cultural connotations as a symbol of 'Spanishness'. Tracing such qualitative material is notoriously challenging, therefore, this chapter uses these types of sources (contemporary eye-witness accounts, diaries and letters) where possible, but it also pays heed to particular social, cultural and political events surrounding individual clothing purchases, such as court festivities, military conflicts and mourning periods. These instances provide greater contextual evidence as to why individuals wore Spanish dress, and whether they used this clothing to express a genuine alliance to Spain or to aid their own mercenary interests. As this chapter ultimately tries to

[2] According to Rublack, qualitative sources such as letters, reveal 'how goods were socially embedded and what they meant to people at specific points in their lives'. See: U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2016), pp.211-213.

demonstrate, English individuals consumed Spanish fashions because of their connotations of high-status and luxury, but also, and perhaps more importantly, for political effect. In this chapter I examine instances of Hispanophilia and 'pseudo-Hispanophilia', and the adoption of Spanish fashions in England, beginning with a discussion of the existing scholarship on English Hispanophilia, before examining the presence and significance of Spanish dress in the wardrobes of the Spanish factions at court, as well as pursuing a case study of three English noble families.

The Idea of 'Spain': Uncovering Hispanophilia in Tudor England

We may better understand English attitudes towards Spaniards by considering the reception of other minority groups in England at the time. Scott Oldenburg finds that there existed 'sizeable merchant, stranger, and Protestant refugee communities [in Tudor England], communities that comprised as much as twelve percent of London's population at the beginning of Mary I's reign and between five and ten percent during Elizabeth I's reign'.[3] Englishmen, he continues, would have encountered Dutch, French, Flemish, Walloon, Italian and Spanish individuals, 'on a day to day basis at markets, in the workplace, parish churches, taverns'.[4] Indeed, French and Dutch churches and enclaves were established in the capital and foreign craftsmanship was greatly prized. However, in spite of this multiculturalism, xenophobia was still prevalent. For the scholars Philip Schwyzer, Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin, this xenophobia constituted a significant part of the construction of a homogenous English national identity.[5] English nationalism relied upon what Oldenburg paraphrases as a 'self/other paradigm', whereby minority groups were marginalised, distanced from and, in some cases, threatened by the English community as a means of establishing an 'us versus them' relationship.[6] In 1517, for instance, Tudor London experienced one of its most violent cases of xenophobia when 2,000 English apprentices rioted in retaliation against the perceived privileged treatment of Italian merchants by the English Crown.[7] This event became known as

[3] S. Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen's Royal Entry Circa 1553, "The Interlude of Wealth and Health", and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I', *ELH*, 76:1 (2009), pp.99-100.
[4] Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England', p.101.
[5] P. Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004), p.2; J. Howard; P. Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London, 1997), p.49.
[6] Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England', p.100.
[7] L. Bich Luu, '"Taking the bread out of our mouths": Xenophobia in early modern London', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 19:2 (2000), p.2.

Evil May Day.[8] As mentioned in Chapter Two, Elizabeth's reign witnessed a number of repeated attacks upon foreigners residing and working in the capital city. These attacks increased with frequency from the 1570s onwards (coinciding with a rise in the number of Protestant exiles immigrating to England from the Low Countries) and, by 1599, foreigners were banned altogether from practicing their crafts. Local efforts to exile foreigners from English soil during this period, Lien Bich Luu argues, 'clearly indicates that their presence was no longer desired and tolerated'.[9]

Whilst a more extreme example, the treatment of Jews in early modern England also offers a useful point of comparison for the experience of the Spanish community. It is worth noting that, in much sixteenth-century literature and drama, Jews and Spaniards, regardless of their faith, were often taken to be one and the same. As Edmund Valentine Campos has found, the term *marrano* was defined in John Florio's English dictionary of 1581 as 'a Jew, an infidel, a renegade. A nickname for a Spaniard'.[10] Campos even goes as far as to suggest that 'some aspects of English anti-Semitism can be interpreted as transposed anti-Hispanic racism. At times, both prejudices can be mutually referential and prone to conflation despite the fact that the official religion of the Iberian Peninsula was relentlessly Catholic'.[11] When considering how Englishmen conceived of Spain, then, it is helpful to consider how they viewed Jews. Peter Berek discerns that 'until the sixteenth century [Jews] were more available to the English as concepts than as persons, more vivid as sites of speculation than as doers of deeds. Jews were figures from narrative rather than experience'.[12] How true is this statement also of the English conception of Spaniards during the Tudor period? As shown in Chapter Two, there existed a sizeable population of Spaniards in London and Bristol and an even larger trend for importing Spanish textile wares and manufacturing Spanish-style clothing in England. However, the English ideation of 'Spain' – which I explore at length in the Epilogue – as conjured up in inflammatory Black Legend texts, translated from satirical Spanish picaresque

[8] Bich Luu, 'Taking the bread out of our mouths', p.2.
[9] Travellers accounts also reveal how foreigners were treated in England during this period: in 1497, Andrea Trevisano, the Italian Ambassador, found that the English 'have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods', and later in 1548, Paolo Giovio, in his *Descriptio Britanniae* wrote that, 'the English…are despisers of Foreigners, since they esteem him a wretched being and but half a man'. See: A. Trevisano (1497) and P. Giovio (1548) cited in W. B. Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners* (London, 1865), p.186; Bich Luu, 'Taking the bread out of our mouths', p.3.
[10] E. V. Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *ELH*, 69:3 (2002), p.602.
[11] Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales', p.602.
[12] P. Berek, 'The Jew as Renaissance Man', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51:1 (1998), p.128.

novels, or emulated through mock-Spanish wares, reveals an image of a 'Spain' that has been fabricated, and in some more positive instances, mythologised.

For much of the English population, who had neither the funds nor means to enjoy direct contact with Spain or her cultural produce, the reality of the country often remained a mystery and was subject, particularly during the wartime period, to distortion and false speculation by political and religious propagandists. England's relationship with the Habsburgs was a cause for concern in the early 1550s when it was proposed that Mary should marry a foreign, Catholic prince, causing Protestant rebels to stir up a public xenophobia that culminated in the 1554 Wyatt Rebellion.[13] Such was the public unrest towards a foreign King consort that the Italian Ambassador, Giovanni Micheli, commented in 1557 that, 'With all this [xenophobia], [Philip] cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners are treated by the English'.[14] Much of the scholarship concerning sixteenth-century Anglo-Spanish history tends to focus on this xenophobia, rivalry and war, assuming it to be characteristic of the whole of the century and of Anglo-Spanish relations, and overlooking the evidence of peaceful political interaction and cross-cultural exchange between the two nations.

That there existed a strong connection between Spain and England during the sixteenth century cannot be refuted. Scholars Sandra Clark, Fuchs, Crofts, Griffin and Samson have all argued for a reappraisal of Anglo-Spanish relations during this period, bringing to light a wealth of evidence that shows that England borrowed from, copied and aspired to assimilate Spain through its literature, fashion and, perhaps most notably, its plans for imperial expansion.[15] It has been argued that England's continuous negotiation of Spain and Spanishness stemmed from a deep-seated desire to mirror and rival this world leader. As Clark explains,

> Spain was…exotic and thus powerfully attractive – its style, its manners, its weaponry, its aristocratic pride and hauteur were not

[13] See the Anglo-Spanish Chronology for details on the Wyatt Rebellion.
[14] G. Micheli (1557) cited in Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p.186.
[15] S. Clark, 'Spanish Characters and English Nationalism in English Drama of the Early Seventeenth Century', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 84 (2007), pp.131-44; B. Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain the English Literature* (Philadelphia, 2013); P. Croft, 'The State of the World is Marvellously Changed: England, Spain and Europe, 1558-1604' in S. Doran; G. Richardson (eds.) *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Hampshire/ New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp.178-202; E. Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard": Post-Armada Hispanophobia and English Renaissance Drama in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp.191-216; A. Samson, '"The colour of the country": English travellers in Spain, 1604-1625', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13:2 (2009), pp.111-124.

> necessarily qualities to be despised, and its expansionist ambitions in the New World were an object of emulation to English mariners, however hostile they professed themselves in writing.[16]

In her work on the exchange of literary tropes between Spain and England during the early modern period, Fuchs too provides a strong case for the Spanish influence upon English culture, arguing that, 'even at the times of greatest rivalry between the two nations. Spain's position as the dominant European power of the period, as well as the huge explosion in Spanish prose and dramatic writing across a wide variety of genres in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries made it an irresistible literary source'.[17] The failure to fully consider the English fascination with Spain, on the part of literary scholars as well as historians, stems from the apparent ambivalence and inconsistency of Anglo-Spanish relations during the sixteenth century. Theirs was not a clear-cut or wholly positive diplomatic alliance, it was a relationship subject to bouts of rivalry and discord, to periods of peace and reconciliation, to extreme Hispanophobia peddled by the English propagandists, apprentices and working classes, and also to cases of genuine Hispanophilia. As a consequence, Fuchs explains, 'the English turn to Spain appears paradoxical, given the religious and political enmity between the two nations', but also because, 'the early modern English rivalry with Spain has largely colored our own cultural and intellectual histories, limiting our view of the Spanish connection'.[18] For Fuchs, the continuous traffic of Spanish literary, visual and material sources into England, demonstrates how, even during periods of war or embargo, Spain was 'a model constantly emulated even as it was disavowed'.[19] Samson too finds in his studies of Anglo-Spanish relations, a strong trend amongst early modern Englishmen and women to 'compete with Spanish imperialism' either through their trading practices or expansionist aspirations.[20]

Certainly, a sharp increase in Black Legend literature in the 1580s saw an equal rise in anti-Spanish sentiment in England. According to Griffin, many of the dramas and texts embroiled in the Black Legend discourse, discussed in the Epilogue, sought to obscure the years of amity shared between the two nations in favour of a more defamatory rhetoric that ridiculed Spaniards and their fashions. Coupled with instances of Hispanophilia, these Black Legend tracts reveal to us how Englishmen struggled to negotiate Spain, a nation at once

[16] Clark, 'Spanish Characters and English Nationalism', p.133.
[17] Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, pp.1-3.
[18] Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, p.4.
[19] Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, pp.4-5.
[20] Samson, "The colour of the country", p.112.

revered and despised. It was this 'us' against 'them' complex which both Griffin and Samson explain, and which I elaborate upon in the Epilogue, that was a significant factor in the manifestation of an English national identity, particularly during the wartime period.[21] Through means of the Black Legend discourse, Englishmen defined themselves not by what they were, but by what they were purportedly *not*: not foreign, not ethnically 'different', and most importantly, not Spanish. Griffin finds that the authors of these Black Legend texts sought to cut ties with Spain so as to create an image of a religiously-unified and peaceful 'little England':

> By ridiculing Spanish policy, dichotomizing and ethnicizing Spanish nationality, and erasing any signs of prior Anglo-Spanish complementarity – whether commercial, religious, or dynastic – [these anti-Spanish writers] remap and reconfigure England's public spaces as a reformed, nationalist landscape.[22]

However, as Samson argues, whilst Hispanophobia was a prevalent issue in late sixteenth-century England, 'its corollary, Hispanophilia, was an equally important part of England's construction of itself as an imperial nation'.[23] English Hispanophilia manifested itself through acts of appropriation such as the borrowing of Spanish literary devices and models, the articulation of Spanish tongues, the consumption of Spanish foodstuffs, and the wearing of Spanish fashions. They suggest that the English elite wished to approximate themselves to all that was worldly and refined – *ergo* Spanish.

Oftentimes, as Griffin acknowledges, the interplay between Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia is described as a defining feature of the later Jacobite period, when peace was restored between the two nations and another Spanish match, this time between the English prince Charles and the infanta María Ana of Spain, was proposed (c.1614-1623). This reading, coupled with the tendency amongst historians of Anglo-Spanish relations to 'read history backwards' and interpret every minor discord between Spain and England during the mid-1500s as a sign of an inevitable slippage towards war, often gives the impression that there

[21] According to Samson, 'Their ambivalence and contradictions underline the extent to which Spain was and would continue to be for centuries to come, an integral part of the ways in which the English defined themselves and constructed their own identity'. See: Samson, "The colour of the country", p.121; Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard"', pp.191; 205.

[22] Griffin argues that the sheer magnitude of anti-Spanish material circulating in England during this period, from dramatic performances to tracts and broadsides, contributed to an overwhelming suppression of England's own troubling past (akin to Spain) as a means of eliminating evidence of, 'England's own participation in a common Catholic past, erase its own applications of exemplary violence, and mask its own mixed ethnic heritage'. See: Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard"', pp.191; 205.

[23] Samson, "The colour of the country", pp.115-116.

existed no interest in Spain and no positive exchange of Spanish ideas into England during the mid- to late-sixteenth century.[24] As Griffin asserts, 'it often remains forgotten that prior to the 1580s the English had been more prone to Spanish alliances than to Spanish antagonisms', and it was only truly after 1585 that Elizabeth's government began to feel threatened by Spain.[25] Therefore, when examining Hispanophobia in Tudor England we must be careful not to discount the prevalent and preceding trend in Hispanophilia which permeated so much of England's cultural sphere. In particular, the surprising frequency with which Spanish fashions – perhaps the most overtly public and visible components of 'Spanish culture' – found their way into England and were readily taken up by the elite.

English Hispanophilia came in the form of the individuals who manufactured, consumed, wore and wrote about Spain and Spanish or Spanish-style textile wares, and those who actually visited Spain, became naturalised in the country and married Spanish women and men. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish literature pervaded elite English culture and numerous canonical Spanish texts were translated for the English audience. Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was translated into English in 1612 and 1620 and Lope de Vega's plays were performed in English playhouses.[26] Monica Matei-Chesnoiu has found that, whilst Black Legend tracts were numerous in England, so too were the number of pro-Spanish texts: between the years 1585-1587, for instance, Arthur Golding translated the Hispanophilic works of Pomponius Mela and Caius Julius Solinus; in 1559, William Cuningham provided a positive view to Spain in his *Cosmographical Glasse*; and in 1594 Thomas Blundeville also translated Petrus Plancius' latin work offering a favourable presentation of Spain as a powerful kingdom.[27]

Travel writing, as well as merchants' accounts, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also had an impact upon the positive ideation of 'Spain' in the English public imagination. According to Samson, these travel texts expose the 'cultural baggage'

[24] Goldman, for instance, marks the 1568 dismissal of the English ambassador, John Man, from Spain as the moment when 'England and Spain began a long preamble to war'. See: W. Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes: Anti-Spanish Rhetoric and Charles Cornwallis' Mission to Spain, 1605-1609' in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), p.255; Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard"', p.211.
[25] Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard"', p.192.
[26] Samson, "The colour of the country", p.117.
[27] M. Matei-Chesnoiu, *Re-Imagining Western European Geography in English Renaissance Drama* (Hampshire/New York, 2012), p.141.

carried by Englishmen who, so conditioned by English Hispanophobic propaganda, found themselves confronted with a surprisingly different reality to that printed on paper:

> The travel writings produced by English travellers to early modern Spain reveal complex and contradictory attitudes to a country that was at once exotic and little known, subject of considerable cultural interest and translation activity, a former ally and yet before the Treaty of London in 1604 the subject of 20 years of hostilities.[28]

As Goldman discerns in his study of early modern travel texts, Hispanophilia amongst the English nobility often went hand-in-hand with an increase in cultural exchange or familiarity with the foreign country and its wares. Taking the example of Charles Cornwallis, whose travels in Spain during the seventeenth century revealed a nation quite different to the imagined 'nest of wolves' and 'cesspool' described in Black Legend tracts, Goldman argues that, 'at least at the elite level, the two kingdoms – and the two great seas they embraced – were not quite as distinct as the rhetoric of the age would suggest'.[29] Originally an Anti-Spaniard, Cornwallis departed Spain a changed man and his writings reveal a new appreciation for the country.

As discussed at length in Chapter Two, the types of Spanish wares – namely textiles and clothing, but also foodstuffs, furniture and weaponry – that were either traded into England or bought by errant ambassadors and wealthy Englishmen abroad, would have increased the awareness and desirability of Spanish items across the Channel. Spanish fashions were readily taken up by the elite classes, with individuals purchasing garments directly from Spain or commissioning Spanish-style clothing to be made in England. Dress diplomacy, the practice of wearing the dress of one's peers to demonstrate good will or political alliance was a common practice amongst the European elite classes who wished to elevate their social standing. At court, individuals were expected to assume the appropriate dress of their peers; for instance, one traveller to Madrid in 1665 commented that, 'for some occasions or if spending a long time there [at court], they soon don the fashion of the country'.[30] In the English court, this was seen

[28] Samson, "The colour of the country", p.111
[29] Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes', p.256. For Black Legend tracts, see: *The Character of Spain: Or, An Epitome of Their Virtues and Vices* (London, 1660), p.1; E. Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish state…*(London, 1590), p.36; M. de Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late Sixteenth Century' in A. J. Cruz (ed.) *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Surrey, 2008), p.13; R. García Carcel, *La leyenda negra. Historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1998), p.84.
[30] A. Brunel (1665) 'Viaje de España' cited in J. Garcia Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1999), p.278

in the sartorial practices of the so-called 'Spanish Faction' who exhibited pro-Spanish sentiment through dress and comportment so as to win Spanish favour.

The practice of wearing Spanish fashions as a sign of Hispanophilia and a means of conspicuously displaying one's wealth and good taste for foreign goods, can be read in household accounts, inventories and letters from the period. There exist a number of one-off entries for Spanish clothing and furnishings in such sources, including seventeenth-century household inventories and accounts, which indicate that Spanish wares continued to be used to bolster the standing of the individual, or to illustrate their attitude towards recent political and historical events after Elizabeth's reign. Mark Merry, in his study of the account book (1620) of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick, for instance, finds that Puckering's inventories reveal 'both the pragmatic organisation of elite display and its more symbolic aspects'.[31] The year 1620 was important for Puckering as he prepared for his future position as a Member of Parliament by travelling to London to purchase a number of expensive garments fit for his new role in the public eye. It was in London, where consumers could expect to find greater sartorial choice, owing to the regular income of overseas traders at Tower Wharf and Queenhithe Ward and the new products retailed at the Royal and New Exchanges, that Puckering acquired new fashions and had old garments altered. Alongside his new scarlet suit of doublet, hose and cloak, Puckering also bought a 'paire of white Spanish leather boots' worth 19s, and several ounces of black silk for 'dressing my fine Spanish cloth cloke' and for sewing 'the embrodred lace of my Spanish cloth sute with'.[32] This Spanish cloth suit, Merry finds, was accompanied by a black velvet girdle and hat. Whilst not a member of the titled nobility, a gentleman like Puckering, whose civic duties at Parliament elevated him to an enviable social standing, would have been engaged in politicised dress practices.[33] Puckering also would have had a hefty disposable income with which he could purchase clothing to leverage his social standing or promote political alliances within the public domain.

[31] M. Merry; C. Richardson (eds.), *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick, 1620: Living in London and the Midlands* (Warwickshire: The Dugdale Society, 2012),
[32] Merry; Richardson, *Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick*, pp.150-155.
[33] As Merry describes, 'The information [found in household accounts] about clothing gives important access to the processes of purchase and construction by which men like Puckering created their self-image. It indicates the rate at which they had clothing made, the places to which they might expect to turn in the construction of different kinds of garment and the very disparate prices which they might be prepared to pay for a range of both unique and everyday attire'. See: Merry; Richardson, *Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick*, p.71.

With the exception of Mary and Elizabeth, elite English women would have had fewer public opportunities to flaunt their Spanish wares and attire than their male counterparts. Nevertheless, they still kept ahead of contemporary fashions by consuming desirable foreign clothes, as well as textiles and household furnishings which could be used to showcase their good taste within a more private, domestic realm. Elizabeth Talbot, the Countess of Shrewsbury, more popularly known as Bess of Hardwick, was a wealthy and influential member of elite court society, later famed for her vast collection of household textiles and tapestries known as the Hardwick Hall textiles. In the 1601 household inventory of Hardwick Hall (one of Bess' three properties), nearly every bedchamber is described as containing a Spanish blanket, presumably made from fine wool that was popularly traded into England during the sixteenth century. Hardwick is also described as possessing one 'white Spanish rug' and four square cushions, embroidered with images of the English aristocracy as well as Philip II of Spain. The embroideries adorning these cushions were presumably not intended as a historical 'who's-who' of the Tudor household (Philip is, after all, represented as a standalone figure rather than accompanied by his English bride, Mary), but rather as commemorative pieces that paid homage to the 'Greats' of sixteenth-century Europe. This entry in Bess' household inventory, however small, speaks volumes about the English perception of Spain, which, after over twenty years of war, was still considered a dominant cultural and political force in the English imagination.

In cases where household inventories and accounts no longer survive, we find evidence of the elite consumption of Spanish dress through portraiture. It is worth acknowledging, however, that early modern dress habits should rarely be analysed solely through the lens of portraiture. Self-imaging practices such as these lent themselves towards multiple purposes, including displaying a family's lineage, memorializing a relative, and shamelessly self-promoting the sitter. It is not unusual, therefore, to find representations of fictitious clothing which has been fabricated by the artist to bolster the subject's appearance and status. Sitters could also hire items of clothing for their portrait.[34] There are a number of extant English

[34] As Aileen Ribeiro makes clear, 'the dress historian should never look at only one aspect of the subject [of dress] -whether art object, surviving garments, documentary sources or theory - in isolation; a wide-ranging and comprehensive approach is much more desirable'. Ribeiro continues on to explain how, documentary material such as inventories, wills and accounts, which prove fruitful when considering consumption habits, fail to explain the often confusing vernacular associated with early modern textiles; likewise, literary sources, which reveal intriguing insight into contemporary attitudes towards clothing, are often 'anecdotal and...colored by emotion'; and even surviving garments, which further the scholar's knowledge of fabrics and construction, do not illustrate how they were worn, by whom, or when and where. See: A. Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress', *Fashion Theory*, 2:4 (1998), p.316.

portraits from the mid- to late-sixteenth century which exemplify and emulate Spanish fashions. In their doublet portraits by Hans Eworth (fig.136), Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, and his brother, Charles Stewart, Earl of Lennox, are depicted as children dressed in Spanish-style garb. The elder of the two, Henry Stewart, wears a tight-fitted doublet in black velvet and silk with matching trunk-hose, similar in cut to the Spanish suit shown in figure 23. His brother, still a young child, wears the type of dress appropriate to his age: a full gown, akin to the costume worn by the Spanish infantas in figure 61. Like his sibling, Charles' outfit is also crafted from pinked black silk and velvet. Two other portraits exist of Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk (fig.137), and Thomas Chaloner (fig.138), the aforementioned English diplomat who spent time abroad in Spain, which show both men dressed in a similar Spanish-style doublet and house. Thomas Howard adopts a round-cut Spanish cloak.

An interest in, or sympathy towards, Spain during this period could therefore be expressed either through Spanish household furnishings, textiles, clothing and portraiture, or more explicitly via pro-Spanish political leanings and activities, as seen with the 'Spanish Faction'. Catholic recusancy in England, as I discuss below, also came to be associated by anti-Spanish pamphleteers with 'popish' or pro-Spanish sentiments. Hispanophilia was, according to Goldman, a more likely characteristic of the English upper classes who could afford to experience Spain (either directly or indirectly through the consumption of Spanish wares) and was not necessarily the attitude taken by the middling or lower classes: 'For the general English population', he explains, 'Spain was a land of pride, poverty, and popery; for Cornwallis – who after all, had lived within Spain itself – it was something much more, a land and a people worthy of admiration and respect, a land not so different from England'.[35] Samson, too, claims that, 'popular xenophobia and anti-Spanish sentiment in England contrasted with significant cultural Hispanophilia amongst the elite, effectively reversing the situation in Spain, whose elite felt contempt for their English counterparts but were quick to come to the aid of its people'.[36] Indeed, pro-Englishness in Spain was not entirely unheard of; however, in contrast to England, Spaniards tended to express greater sympathy towards *working*-class Englishmen. As Samson explains, this benevolence was largely guided by religious interests as, 'after the death of Mary Tudor, Spain had deliberately supported [Catholic] opponents of the Elizabethan

[35] Goldman describes how, towards the close of his stay in Spain, Cornwallis had begun to demonstrate a 'nuanced appreciation for Spanish customs and people, and an acceptance of Spanish values and customs far removed from his initial reactions' upon entering the country. See: Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes', pp.256-258.
[36] Samson, "The colour of the country", p.117

religious settlement, offering pensions, military careers, and education in the English colleges at Seville, Valladolid, Madrid and Lisbon'.[37] Indeed, accounts of apprenticeships in Bristol during the sixteenth century show a considerable number of young men travelling to Spain to receive their training as merchants for a year or two before returning back to England, and Catholic exiles, too, departed English shores for Spain where they sought religious sanctuary.[38]

Catholicism and Hispanophilia

Much of the English response to Spain was influenced by religious conflict. When Elizabeth ascended to the throne in 1559, she introduced the Religious Settlement – an attempt to pacify tensions between religious factions that had emerged during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. Two Acts – the Act of Supremacy that confirmed England's separation from Rome and instated Elizabeth as Head of the Church of England, and the Act of Uniformity which reformed the English Church under Protestant theology – were introduced in 1558 and 1559.[39] The impact of rising Protestantism saw a nation divided, with initial attempts at leniency towards conservatives later abandoned in favour of a more hard-line approach to Catholic 'heretics' as the century progressed.[40] Alan Dures and David Loades find that there existed a strong Catholic base in England during Elizabeth's reign, albeit one that was largely restricted to the Northern regions of the country. Geographically speaking, rural areas such as Lancashire, Durham and York provided better strongholds for Catholicism owing to their distance from the capital city and the resistance of conservatism to the new faith. However, other southern counties also supported sizeable Catholic communities: Sussex, in particular, was home to the Catholic Earls of Arundel and Viscounts of Montague who served as Lord-

[37] Samson, "The colour of the country", p.112.
[38] E. Ralph; N. M. Hardwick (ed.), *Calendar the Bristol Apprentice Book, Part II: 1532-1565* (Bristol, 1980), p.x; P. Griffiths (ed.), *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford, 1996), p.78.
[39] Under the Act of Supremacy, Catholics who did not attended the Anglican church could be fined 12d.; those who refused to sign the Oath of Supremacy, and thereby acknowledge Elizabeth's authority, risked losing their office; and those who supported Papal supremacy could be subject to lose their possessions, be imprisoned and eventually, on repeated offence, be executed. The nobility were often immune to these statutes. See: A. Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change* (Essex, 1983), p.8.
[40] Arnold Pritchard argues that, although these legislations outlawed the Catholic mass and forced Catholics to attend the Anglican church, persecution of Catholics who resisted these changes – i.e. recusants – was relatively low. This was also partly due to the fact that, Pritchard argues, 'Most people of Catholic sympathies, and even some Catholic priests, apparently saw no harm in complying with the minimum legal requirement of being present in Anglican worship, although many disassociated themselves from actual participation by not receiving communion or by ostentatious lack of attention to the proceedings'. See: A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (London, 1979), pp.3-4.

Lieutenants of the county, and possessed a large Catholic populace despite its close proximity to London.[41]

Towards the end of the century, Catholicism, and in particular Catholic recusancy, was perceived amongst English Protestant pamphleteers as being synonymous with pro-Spanish sentiments. It was feared that an adherence to the Catholic faith signified a belief in the supremacy of the Papacy over the Crown, and thereby a support of Rome and Spain's attempts to re-Catholicize England. In its strictest sense, the term 'recusancy' signified the deliberate resistance to the Church of England and its services, and a loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church and the Papacy. However, as Dures argues, English Catholics during the sixteenth century encompassed a much broader strata of society and their practices could be equally diverse:

> There were, for instance, those who adhered to medieval catholic rituals and rites out of a deep sense of conservatism. Secondly, there were those whose adherence to the old faith was more articulate, perhaps under the influence of catholic literature from the continent, or of the Marian priests, but who nevertheless attended the Anglican church. These were known as Church Papists. Thirdly, there were the 'recusants' – a term applied to catholics who refused the Oath of Supremacy out of a belief in papal supremacy.[42]

Given these definitions, the Arundel and Montague families of Sussex might be classified as 'Church Papists' owing to their attendance of the Anglican Church, rather than for necessarily expressing a pro-Spanish leaning.[43] Similarly, those who immigrated to Spain as religious exiles often did so out of necessity to avoid persecution rather than to become 'Hispanicised'. As Dures also points out, many of these older, more conservative noble families continued with the 'old faith' simply because 'Catholicism was the natural religion, Protestantism a dangerous innovation'.[44] They did not always practice Catholicism as a means of expressing fealty to

[41] According to Marie Rowlands' survey of the Recusant Rolls of the Exchequer, by 1592, 544 gentry and 954 'non-gentry' recusants were residing in England, see: 'Table 1: Status of Convicted Recusants listed on the Recusant Rolls of the Exchequer, 1592' in M. B. Rowlands (ed.) *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558-1778* (London, 1999), p.18.

[42] Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642*, p.3.

[43] The Fitzalan Chapel, within the grounds of Arundel Castle, in fact comprised both Catholic and Anglican areas of worship. The Catholic section was used privately by the noble family, and the Anglican section formed the parish church. See: J. M. Robinson, *Arundel Castle: ancestral seat of the Dukes of Norfolk* (Arundel, 1981), p.20; W. Freeman, *Arundel Castle: History and Guide Book*, 12th edn. (Brighton, n.d.), pp.35-36.

[44] As John Bossy also finds, in noble Catholic households, the old faith often persisted as it could be easily integrated into the normal household routine: 'If the household contained a priest, who could at the same time act,

Spain, as the Protestant pamphleteers might have their readers believe; in fact, during the Armada, the English Catholic laity largely expressed loyalty to England, rather than to Spain.[45]

Despite these nuances, as Elizabeth's reign progressed, the 'Catholic issue' became equated with the 'Spanish issue'. The persecution of Catholics in England progressively worsened as Elizabeth's domestic and international relations too deteriorated. Philip II and Pope Pius IV's support of Elizabeth's cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, as a claimant to the English throne and a possible harbinger of Catholicism to the realm, led to weakened relations between the two nations. In 1569, the Spanish King entered into an agreement with the Catholic Earl of Northumberland to send troops into England to aid Mary's restoration to the throne. The Northern Rebellion, as it became known, resulted in the papal excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570 whereupon Pius withdrew the Queen's title as Head of the Church. It was closely followed in 1571 by the Ridolfi Plot, which again saw attempts – this time by Italian banker Roberto Ridolfi – to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne. As Dures states, 'the Northern Rebellion, the Papal Bull and the Ridolfi Plot doubtlessly heightened anti-Catholic feeling', as well as severing previous Anglo-Spanish amity altogether.[46] Repeated attempts to assassinate the Queen occurred later in 1583 (the Throgmorton Plot), 1585 (the Parry Plot), and 1586 (the Babington Plot) for which Philip was believed to have provided financial support.[47] The English response to Spain in the sixteenth century was therefore highly polarised and one which gradually worsened over time. As a result, instances of Hispanophilia and 'pseudo-Hispanophilia' can both be read in the household accounts of England's elite classes, through significant commissions of Spanish fashions and household furnishings at key political moments.

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or be disguised, as tutor, steward, or something similar, and especially if there was a chapel, the traditional regularity could be preserved without much loss. In the bigger houses the liturgical cycle merged indistinguishably with the cycle of hospitality'. See: J. Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past & Present*, 21 (1962), p.40; Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642*, p.7.

[45] Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', p.43.

[46] Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642*, p.17.

[47] Spain became firmly fixed in public memory as a papist force and a threat to Elizabeth's Protestant England. Oliver Cromwell, for instance, has often been cited as a key proponent of this belief, having claimed over half a century later in 1656 that, 'The papists in England – they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolized'. See: Oliver Cromwell (1656) cited in A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (New York, 1963), p.3.

Spanish Dress in England: Examining the Personal Inventories of the 'Spanish Factions' and the English Elite

Having previously examined the wardrobes of the two female monarchs in Chapter Three, it is now worth considering the activities and dress of the so-called 'Spanish Factions' and the English nobility during this period. These were individuals that either expressed an affiliation with Philip and his Spanish entourage at court, or remained outside of these circles yet still bought and wore Spanish fashions of their own accord. The shift in focus here is, therefore, social – moving from the aristocracy to the titled nobility – and also gendered: the majority of subjects examined in this chapter are male. This is due to the nature of the documentary evidence analysed, such as household accounts and family papers, wherein the clothing expenditures of the 'Head of the House' are often granted more attention than secondary members of the family or staff. By examining the household accounts and family papers pertaining to these individuals and their families, as well as eye-witness accounts and gift rolls from the period, we can establish how widespread the trend for purchasing Spanish fashions truly was, and how far-reaching Philip, Mary and Elizabeth's influence was upon their subjects. This documentary evidence can also tell us about what people were *expected* to wear to court and whether Spanish dress and textiles proved more popular in certain years, and amongst certain circles, than others.

The 'Spanish Factions'

The term 'Spanish Faction' brings to mind images of rival groups at the Tudor court intent on pushing their own political agendas, gaining royal favour and raising their social status. Under Mary, a circle of English nobles formed what can be described as a 'faction' around Philip and his entourage. However, during Elizabeth's reign, the existence of such a group is harder to trace. Determining how we define the term 'faction' helps us to establish why and how a 'Spanish Faction' might have formed at both courts. It also allows us to understand why these nobles chose to approximate themselves to Philip and his entourage: did their loyalty to the 'Spanish Faction' indicate a genuine pro-Spanish attitude, or is it better read as a desire to 'get ahead' at court? Taking Ives' definition of 'faction' as a starting point, such partisanship can be described accordingly: '"a faction" is "a group of people which [sic] seeks objectives that are seen primarily in personal terms", either positive (gaining or keeping privileges, grants, jobs, office for members or their associates) or negative (denying such things

to rivals)'.[48] As this and later revisionist approaches to factions have also found, factions were not necessarily an indicator of open hostility and competition between groups of individuals, but rather, could also be formed on more positive grounds, owing to shared ideologies and mutual interests between patrons and nobles. As Dickinson points out, 'members of these groups were not only concerned with fighting for power and reward but with striving to serve the monarch and the common weal as best they could'.[49]

It is also now commonly accepted that Tudor political life was not wholly coloured by what Dickinson terms 'factional strife'.[50] Neale's seminal text on Tudor factions, for instance, which described Elizabeth's reign as being riddled with factional rivalry and characterised by groups that mercilessly promoted their own interests at the expense of others, is now generally regarded as outdated.[51] In more recent years, the scholarly debate concerning Tudor factions has reconsidered the very existence and nature of such factions at the courts of Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth. Adams places less significance on factions during Elizabeth's reign, suggesting that up until the 1590s, it was key political individuals, rather than groups, who held sway at court.[52] It was not until the final decade of Elizabeth's life, he points out, that factions came into the fore.[53] Factions, as Adams, Ives and Dickinson have all highlighted, therefore, were not the only political force to shape courtly life during the sixteenth century, nor were they always a signifier of antagonism or competition. Tudor Factions could assume many forms, serving different means, and surviving for finite periods of time; their changing nature and influence at court has perhaps contributed to the sustained historical debate on their subject.

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[48] The definition of faction has been debated by many scholars. Ives' definition, for instance, goes against that offered by Geoffrey Elton a few years earlier, who argued that, 'every one of the factions that one can identify cherished and promoted political ends that had nothing to do with mere personal advancement or the exploitation of patronage'. See: E. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England* (London, 1979), pp.1-2; G. R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. III. The Court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (1976), pp.226-27.

[49] J. Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction at the Tudor Court' in R. González Cuerva; A. Koller (eds.) *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions: Political Groups at Early Modern Centres of Power (1550-1700)* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), p.25.

[50] Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction', p.22.

[51] E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene', in E. Neale (ed.) *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958), pp.69-74; 79-84; P. E. J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, faction and the earl of Essex', in J. Guy (ed.) *The Reign of Elizabeth I, Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), p.67.

[52] S. Adams, 'Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court' in S. Adams (ed.*) Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester, 2002), p.47.

[53] Natalie Mears too argues that factionalism re-emerged in the 1590s because Elizabeth's 'grip on politics weakened' and because the Earl of Essex, sought to become her 'foremost councillor'. See: N. Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', Historical Journal, 46:3 (2003), p.708; Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction', p.22.

One of the uniting features of factions, Dickinson and Caesar explain, was their reactive nature: they were nearly always formed in response to a specific need, event, ideology or individual. As Caesar describes,

> …sometimes [factions] had a tangible life over many decades, and sometimes their existence was more ephemeral, lasting only during the time of the circumstances which generated them. Sometimes they were simply the fruit of the fear, anxieties and propaganda of competing groups and individuals.[54]

Dickinson, too, describes how factions often formed around one individual – a patron – with individuals rallying together 'in pursuit of greater power and…sometimes in a shared desire to pursue certain policies'.[55] The formation of factions was, she continues, often opportunistic; they were generally established in times of crisis or need, and oftentimes in person.[56] It was also not unusual for individuals to belong to multiple factions, and to reap the social and fiscal rewards of having more than one patron. As Shephard also explains, 'until [these individuals] had managed to establish an independent power base, burning their bridges with any potential group of allies was unwise'.[57]

Dickinson and Caesar's descriptions of how factions came into fruition is especially pertinent to the 'Spanish Faction' at Mary's court. This was a faction born out of need; precisely, *Philip's* need to establish a loyal following at court and to elevate his social standing amongst the English nobility. Patronage was key to Philip's 'Spanish Faction' as it was founded upon a contract of gift-giving and pensions, and comprised individuals whom Philip himself considered to be most amenable to an Anglo-Spanish alliance. We can define the 'Spanish Faction' under Mary's rule therefore as comprising a group of noblemen, and some noblewomen, who received Philip's patronage and favour, in the form of gifts and pensions, in return for their loyalty to Spain and the Anglo-Spanish union. This definition of the 'Spanish Faction' lies in stark contrast to that of the seventeenth-century Spanish Factions at James I and Charles I's courts, which comprised a number of 'Spanish-sympathisers' including Queen Anne, Thomas Howard (Earl of Northampton), Robert Ker (Duke of Somerset), the Earl and

[54] M. Caesar, 'Did Factions Exist? Problems and Perspectives on European Factional Struggles (1400-1750)' in M. Caesar (ed.) *Factional Struggles: Divided Elites in European Centres and Courts (1400-1750)* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), p.16.
[55] Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction', p.36.
[56] Dickinson, 'Redefining Faction', pp.30-31.
[57] R. Shephard, 'Court Factions in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History*, 64:4 (1992), p.730.

Countess of Arundel, and the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, all of whom supported a Catholic alliance with Spain.[58] By contrast, the 'Spanish Faction' at Mary's court was not necessarily established by men who wished to lobby for Spanish political ideologies or express a love for Spain; but who relied upon Philip for financial security. Their behaviour erred towards pseudo-Hispanophilia, rather than genuine Hispanophilia.[59] As evidenced in a number of their household accounts and inventories, too, some of these men went so far as to express their loyalty to the 'Spanish Faction' in material form by purchasing Spanish wares and dressing in Spanish clothes. Their courtly dress constituted an important visual marker signalling their affiliation with the 'Spanish Faction' and larger Spanish household.

Before examining these politicized dress practices, and the infrastructure of the 'Spanish Faction', it is worth first understanding why Philip felt the need to establish a Spanish circle at Mary's court. Philip's arrival in England in 1554 for his wedding to Mary was not without its trials. As well as the aforementioned marriage negotiations, and the public outcry against a foreign Catholic prince, Philip's role in government and his accommodation and household at court were also contested. Philip arrived in Winchester accompanied by a full Spanish household (despite being encouraged to bring a modest entourage) only to find that Mary had already arranged an English household to serve him.[60] Further to this, he was prohibited from placing any Spanish officers in government, denied a purse and forced to rely upon Mary for financial matters. Despite Mary hoping otherwise, Philip's own role in government was also limited as he was unfamiliar with English law and struggled to communicate with the Privy Councillors.[61] The living arrangements at court too remained a particularly contentious issue and a cause for hostility amongst the English and Spanish nobility. To accommodate both households, Philip employed Spaniards in the Privy Chamber and Englishmen for public, ceremonial occasions.[62] As a result, many of Philip's Spaniards felt

[58] A. J. Loomie, 'The Spanish Faction at the Court of Charles I, 1630-8', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), pp.37-49; S. Munson Deats; R. A. Logan, *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts* (Hampshire, 2008), p.175; J. S. Morrill, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 1996), p.421.
[59] It is likely, however, that they may have expressed more pro-Spanish sentiment than their peers, owing to their regular interaction with the Spanish entourage.
[60] All in all, it is estimated that Philip's households comprised 30 gentlemen, 11 grooms and pages, six interpreters and 100 yeomen archers. See: D. Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England' in C. Cross; D. Loades; J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.) *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), p.186.
[60] Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', pp.185-186.
[61] Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', p.188.
[62] Philip's English household underwent a number of configurations and those initially assigned to tend to him in his privy chamber were relegated to his 'pensions list'. Included in his household at various stages were the Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Williams; the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir John Huddlestone; the Spanish-speaking Lord

displaced by their English counterparts, and complained of 'hanging about with nothing to do'.[63] Living in such close quarters, Anglo-Spanish tensions inevitably ran high and many of Philip's Spaniards were subjected to repeated violent 'knife-play', thefts and mockery.[64]

Aware of this friction, Philip and his Spanish entourage organised a series of Spanish spectacles that, they believed, would allow both households to express their vexations on the recreational 'playing field' rather than at court. The *juegos de caña*, otherwise known as cane play, were a series of Spanish games held on 25 November 1554 for the court, and on 12 February and 20 April 1555 to celebrate the weddings of Lord Strange and Lord Fitzwalter, respectively. In these games, participants rode on horseback, wearing targets, whilst throwing canes at their opponents.[65] There was considerable anticipation and excitement surrounding these events with the Duke of Savoy's envoy, Giovanni di Stroppiana, commenting positively that the English and Spanish 'are making friends', and a number of commentators praising the elaborate costumes worn by participants.[66] In one account, the 'challengers' were described as having 'all ther men and ther horses trymmed in whyt', whilst Philip and his men were dressed 'all in bluw'.[67] Another account, by a Spanish gentleman, confirmed that 'over eighty gentlemen, all richly adorned in silver and gold, are to take part [in the cane play]. I have seen their costumes, all of velvet and various colours, and believe it will please the Queen and consequently all the English people'.[68] When the first *juego* did take place, however, the English courtiers were greatly disappointed and passed comment that 'some more striking sport' would have been better suited to bringing the two households together.[69] It was agreed that a more fitting challenge, a series of Anglo-Spanish tournaments, would be held at the

Maltravers; Lord Herbert; Lord Fitzwalter; 'Kempe' and 'Bassett'; and Richard Snelly. See: Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', p.186.

[63] *Tres Cartas de los sucedido en el viaje de Su Alteza a Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1877), p.91.

[64] In September 1554, for instance, the Duke of Savoy's envoy, Giovanni di Stroppiana, revealed the existence of a plot to massacre all Spaniards residing in London and Hampton Court Palace. See: E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940), p.197.

[65] Diarist Henry Machyn recorded the event as follows: '(The xxv day of November) the Wyche was Sonday, at afternone, the Kyngs grace and my lord (Fitzwalter) and divers Spaneards dyd ryd in divers colas, the Kyng in red…and with targets and canes in ther hand, herlyng of rods on at anodur'. See: J. G. Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563* (London, 1848), p.76; a seventeenth-century account of a later *juego de cana* can also be found in a Festival Book, which records the festivities put on during Charles, Prince of Wales' visit to Madrid in 1623: 'In the euening of the same day, there was a running at the Ring, and at the *Está Firmo*; his Highnesse breaking many staues very well, and with great applause'. See: Anon, *A continuation of a former relation concerning the entertainments giuen to the Prince His Highnesse by the King of Spaine in his Court at Madrid* (London, 1623), f.6.

[66] *CSP, Spanish, Vol.XIII, 1555-1558* (London, 1954), p.63.

[67] Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, pp.80; 84.

[68] *CSP, Spanish, 1555-1558*, p.61.

[69] *CSP, Spanish, 1555-1558*, p.105.

Tiltyard at Westminster. These tournaments were more in keeping with traditional leisurely and martial pursuits of the Tudor court, and drew substantial crowds, providing, as Richard McCoy finds, 'their contestants with a chance for exhilarating combat and sumptuous display'.[70] As well as encouraging the two households to interact with one another, these tournaments also helped to forge friendships: Robert Dudley, as discussed at greater length below, befriended a number of Spaniards and consequently joined Philip's entourage in Spain in 1555.[71]

Beyond the Anglo-Spanish tournaments and the *juegos de cana*, Philip resorted to more drastic measures to get the English nobility on side. With limited influence in government, and a desperate need to dampen anti-Spanish sentiment at court, Philip was forced to establish a faction in which his patronage might secure the support of a number of English nobles. He resorted to gifting a select group of courtiers with annual pensions generated from his own personal revenues, rather than the funds directed to him by Mary.[72] This was a costly and precarious endeavour which had the potential to run Philip into financial ruin without necessarily securing him the loyal circle of pro-Spanish nobility that he so desperately desired. Indeed, as Loades argues, Philip's 'pensioners represented a substantial investment, and must be seen as a serious attempt to establish his influence; but it is hard to assess what return his efforts actually received'.[73] Whilst Philip's pensioners willingly accepted his annual payments, and thereby entered into a traditional 'patron-clientage' contract, many still continued to seek financial rewards and favours from outside of the 'Spanish Faction'.[74]

The recipients of Philip's pensions were outlined early on in a list compiled by the Imperial Ambassador, Simon Renard de Bermont, and subsequently revised by Philip upon his arrival in England. These noblemen and women were selected on the basis of their perceived future amenability to Spain and the Anglo-Spanish alliance. Their pensions varied in value, with higher-ranking nobility receiving payments of 2000 crowns and lesser courtiers (some titled nobility and gentry) receiving anywhere between 300 and 1000 crowns per annum. At

[70] R. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *The Historical Journal*, 27:2 (1984), p.430.
[71] D. Wilson, *Sweet Robin: a biography of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, 1533-1588* (London, 1981), p.73; McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard', p.430.
[72] Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', p.182.
[73] Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', p.183.
[74] P. E. J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, faction and the earl of Essex', in J. Guy (ed.) *The Reign of Elizabeth I, Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.69; 71-72.

the heart of the 'Spanish Faction', the most fortunate recipients of Philip's favour included five noblemen: William Paget, Lord of Beaudesert (and later Lord Privy Seal), Henry Fitzalan (19th Earl of Arundel), Henry Stanley (4th Earl of Derby), Francis Talbot (5th Earl of Shrewsbury), and William Herbert (1st Earl of Pembroke). Each received the prized 2000 crowns from Philip and, in turn, demonstrated either a personal bond with the King consort himself, or an involvement in his martial endeavours overseas.

Such was the close connection of these men to Philip that concerns amongst anti-Spanish (and anti-Catholic) pamphleteers soon emerged: in 1556, for instance, John Bradford published *The copye of a letter sent by J. Bradforthe to the erles of Arundel, Debie, Shrewsbury and Penbroke*, that accused the earls of plotting to place Philip on the throne.[75] Anxieties towards Philip's 'Spanish circle' were largely directed at Paget who had become known as Philip's 'right-hand man'. A Venetian attendee to the court, for instance, commented that, 'all favours shown to him [Paget] proceed [from the King consort], nor does he fail to seek them by all means and with all his might'.[76] However, Paget was not the only pensioner to demonstrate a pro-Spanish leaning. Arundel was amongst the entourage of English nobility to greet Philip when he first arrived in Southampton and he maintained a close relationship with Philip, allowing the King consort to later become godfather to his grandson, the Catholic martyr Philip Howard.[77] Derby too, shared amicable relations with Philip, who attended his marriage to Margaret Clifford in 1554, and both William Pembroke, and his son, Henry Herbert, were keenly involved with the Spanish during Mary's reign. For instance, William entertained Philip's entourage at his family seat, Wilton House, in 1554, and Henry was subsequently made a gentleman of Philip's chamber. Both men were involved in the Spanish capture of St Quentin in 1557.[78]

It was during these periods of close Anglo-Spanish amity within the 'Spanish Faction' that the pensioners used Spanish clothing and textiles to emulate the Spanish entourage at court. Such acts of 'politicised' dressing can be read most clearly in the Earl of Pembroke's inventory

[75] J. Bradford, *The Copye of a Letter, sent by John Bradforth to the right honourable lords the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsburye, and Pembroke, declaring the nature of the Spaniardes, and discovering the most detestable treasons which they have pretended most falsely agaynste our moste noble kingdome of Englande* (1556)
[76] *CSP of State Papers, Venetian, Vol.VI, 1555-1556* (London, 1877), pp.415-16.
[77] 'Philip Howard' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com [accessed online: 21/09/2017] http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13929?docPos=1
[78] P. Williams, 'Herbert, Henry, second earl of Pembroke (b. in or after 1538)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) www.oxforddnb.com [accessed online: 22/02/18] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13028>

for 1561 which describes a significant number of opulently-decorated Spanish items of clothing, presumably intended to be worn in the public eye. Pembroke's inventory is remarkable given the scale of Spanish dress contained within it: six Spanish capes (listed under the heading, 'Spanyshe Capes'); eleven Spanish leather jerkins; thirteen pairs of Spanish buskins; three pairs of Spanish boots; eight pairs of Spanish shoes; and a Spanish purse.[79] His Spanish capes are mostly made from black cloth, guarded with black velvet and lined with pinked black satin; however, they differ in ornamentation with some bearing 'black silk buttons', and others 'golde buttons enamelled white, redde, blewe and black'.[80] Reading between the lines, we also get the sense that some items of clothing were intended to be worn as a pair: Pembroke's black cloth cape, with its buttons of 'black jete with stalkes of gold', resembles in adornment his 'jerkin of Spanishe leather with a parcement lace of black silke, lyned with taffata sett with xviii jete buttons with golde stalkes'.[81] We know from contemporary portraits, too, that Pembroke enjoyed dressing in matching suits (fig.139). Among Pembroke's more elaborate jerkins is a 'Jerkin of black spanishe Leather garded doune right with velvett fringed on every side the garde and a chaine Lace upon the garde lyned with taffata with buttons of black silke', and a 'jerkin of perfumed Spanishe leather imbrodered donnright with golde edged with yelowe velvet and lyned with white taffata'.[82]

Pembroke's accessories – both clothing and household – are also noteworthy given their Spanish origins and their implied Hispanophilia. Amongst his twenty-four pairs of Spanish footwear, Pembroke owned buskins trimmed with gold lace, and white and black velvet, and shoes furred with white lambskin and fastened with gilt buckles.[83] Should he so wish, Pembroke could dress his body in Spanish garb, walk in Spanish shoes, and procure his Spanish pension from his 'purse of Spanishe leather', which was luxuriously decorated with 'a plaine white ringe striped downe right with silver lace'.[84] If members of the English court were uncertain about where Pembroke's political - *and fiscal* - loyalties lay, they need not look any further than his jewellery or household furnishings: amongst his assemblage of jewellery,

[79] Pembroke's inventory is striking insofar as he invests in Spanish clothing across all areas of his wardrobe, from shoes to doublets to purses. Such is the extent of his consumption that his inventory necessitates specific headings explicitly for Spanish clothing, thus demonstrating that Spanish wares comprised a significant portion of his purchases. To guage a thorough understanding of how Pembroke valued Spanish wares, a future comparative study is needed to assess the scale of all of his foreign purchases.
[80] NAL MSL 1982/30, f.44v.
[81] NAL MSL 1982/30, ff.44v; 48v.
[82] NAL MSL 1982/30, ff.49r; 49v.
[83] NAL MSL 1982/30, 1561', ff.66r; 68v.
[84] NAL MSL 1982/30, f.72r.

'cheines and other thinges', he owned a 'george with Kinge Phillippes face on th one side'.[85] He also possessed portraits of notable Spaniards, including 'the picture of Kinge Philip', 'another picture of King Philipp his face', and the 'Bisshop of Arras', which could be viewed whilst sitting in one of his sixteen Spanish chairs at Baynards Castle and Wilton House.[86] These images may have even been gifts from Pembroke's Spanish guests in 1554. We can also gauge a sense of Pembroke's high standing within the 'Spanish Faction' by a consideration of items of clothing given to him by those who sought to acclimatise themselves with the Spanish for financial or political gain. Robert Dudley, for instance, an ally of Pembroke's and an individual who relied upon Spanish favour to restore his family's reputation following the plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne (see the discussion below), gifted Pembroke several items of clothing and accessories including a rapier, dagger, girdle and scabbard, and a Spanish cloak.[87] A true pseudo-hispanophile, Dudley's portrait is also recorded as being hung at Baynards Castle.[88]

State Papers from the mid-1570s also reveal that Philip was not averse to providing Englishmen with pensions long after the 'official' union between England and Spain had ended. In 1574, for instance, the Queen's Secretary, Francis Walsingham, received a letter detailing the names and titles of Englishmen who travelled to the court at Madrid 'for entertainment at the King's hands there' and pensions.[89] This evidence for English 'loyalty' to Philip, whether governed by financial desires or a genuine pro-Spanish leaning, serves as an important example of the ways in which the Anglo-Spanish link persisted long after Mary's death. Earlier still, English migration to Spain occurred amongst the English elite, with Jane Dormer, one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting, becoming wholly 'Hispanicised' when she married the Spanish ambassador, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, the Duke and later Count of Feria. Together with Susan Clarencius, another of Mary's ladies, Jane migrated to live in Zafra, Estremadura.[90] As ardent Catholics, the Duke and Duchess of Feria became strong advocates

[85] NAL MSL 1982/30, f.77v.
[86] NAL MSL 1982/30, ff.84v; 86v; 89v; 90r; 92r-v; 99v.
[87] NAL MSL 1982/30, ff.44v; 63r; G. Turner, *Economising on Possession: The Inventory of the Earl of Pembroke, dated 1561* (RCA/V&A: MA Thesis, 1998), p.17.
[88] NAL MSL 1982/30, f.85r.
[89] A year later, in 1575, another list was compiled noting the Catholic 'English fugitives' who had fled to Spain to receive further pensions from Philip. Amongst those listed were the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, Lord Dacre (who was included in Philip's original pension list of 1554) and Lady Hungerford, as well as over 30 members of the titled gentry. See: TNA SP 15/23: 'Note addressed to Sec. Walsingham of such Englishmen as came into Spain for entertainment at the King's hands there', f.150r; TNA SP 12/105: 'List of the English fugitives abroad receiving pensions from the King of Spain', f.24r.
[90] Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp.94-98.

of Catholic recusancy, welcoming and providing sanctuary for English exiles during Elizabeth's reign. Whilst no inventories survive that detail Jane's wardrobe or consumption habits during her time in Spain (she presumably would have worn Spanish fashions), her portraits reveal a woman who perhaps best reflects the 'Spanish-Englishwoman' of Cervantes' fame, as described in Chapter Three. Like Queen Mary, Jane also had her portrait painted in the Habsburg style by Anthonis Mor in 1558 (fig.140) and is shown dressed as a Spanish noblewoman.

Establishing a 'Spanish Faction' at the English court became increasingly challenging during Elizabeth's reign as Philip was no longer present and tensions had arisen between the two nations. Philip relied upon his ambassadors to represent his interests overseas, and during the Marian years through to 1584 he employed six Spanish ambassadors to serve him in England.[91] There also existed a number of Catholic nobility who sympathised with the Spanish, partly out of necessity following Elizabeth's accession. In a letter to Philip in 1558, for instance, Feria voiced his anxieties that Elizabeth had shunned the majority of Mary's household and Catholic subjects:

> The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom Her Majesty [Mary], who is now in heaven, would have received and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary…The old people and the Catholics are dissatisfied, but dare not open their lips.[92]

In addition to this, he commented upon the diminished status of the 'Spanish Faction' at Elizabeth's court – 'how small a party you [Philip] have here' – and how few courtiers would engage in conversation with him:

> They are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak of me…As I am so isolated from them I am much embarrassed and confused to devise means of finding out what is

[91] These men included the aforementioned Count of Feria, who served under Mary and at Elizabeth's court during the first seven months of her reign; Alvaro de Quadra, the Bishop of Aquila who served from 1559 to 1563; Don Diego Guzman de Silva who was in station from 1563 to 1568; Don Guerau de Spes who was expelled by Elizabeth in 1571; the wool merchant, Antonio de Guarras who served from 1571 until 1578; and Bernardino de Mendoza who acted as ambassador until 1584.
[92] *CSP, Spanish, 1558-1567* (London, 1892), p.7.

> going on, for truly they run away from me as if I were the devil. The best thing will be to get my foot in the palace…[93]

The Spanish ambassadors faced the additional hurdle, therefore, of attempting to establish a 'Spanish Faction' when they did not have a permanent residence at court, as Philip's entourage had enjoyed previously.[94] Methods used to garner support included supplying 'secret' pensions to individuals, on the proviso that they travelled overseas to Spain, and aided Catholics. This is not to say that the Spanish received no interest at court; many Englishmen used their faith as a means of approximating themselves to the Spanish ambassadors and thereby securing their favour. In 1561, for instance, Robert Dudley tried to convince Alvaro de Quadra that he was pro-Catholic and, later in the 1590s, the Earl of Essex's own faction was revealed to have harboured a number of pro-Catholic members including the Earls of Arundel and Rutland, despite Essex purportedly promoting Protestant interests.[95] Unlike the case of Mary's court, it is difficult to decipher who belonged to the 'Spanish Faction' and supported Spanish political and religious ideologies during Elizabeth's reign, who exploited the Spanish for their patronage and financial handouts; and who were pro-Catholic, but not necessarily pro-Spanish.

Keeping it in the Family: Spanish Clothing in the Portraiture and Household Accounts of England's Nobility

Household accounts, including family papers, day books, privy-purse expenses and probate wills provide us with more conclusive evidence of how the wardrobes of England's elite appeared. At present, most scholarship on household accounts is polarised, focussing on either high-profile monarchic figures or, conversely, the middling and lower sort whose probate wills and inventories are widely catalogued in county record offices. The accounts of private households of the nobility are lesser studied, perhaps owing to the scale of these documents

[93] *CSP, Spanish, 1558-1567*, p.8.

[94] Whilst the Spanish presence at court was considerably diminished during Elizabeth's reign, the ambassadors would have still courted attention, living comfortably and possessing a sizeable disposable income on which they afford a decent household. Following her studies of Alvaro de Quadra's household accounts, Karen Stagg has argued that, 'The ambassadors in Elizabeth's reign often complained because they lacked money, but there was no question of them living frugally. They were in England to represent Spain and the Spanish Court and were the only Spaniards that many English people saw, so that they had to live in a suitable style, occupying houses owned either by Elizabeth or by her courtiers, keeping a fair-sized household and entertaining lavishly'. It is unlikely, however, that these men were the '*only* Spaniards that many English people saw' as, as discussed in Chapter Two and illustrated in Appendix C, there existed a sizeable population of Spanish merchants, craftsmen and servants living in London. It is worth also noting that Stagg uses de Quadra's accounts as a benchmark against which to measure the financial status of *all* of Philip's ambassadors in England. See: K. Stagg, *The Spanish Ambassadors in London during the Reign of Elizabeth I* (PhD Thesis: University of Bristol, 1979).

[95] Shephard, 'Court Factions in Early Modern England', p.730; *CSP, Spanish, 1558-1567*, pp.179-83.

(many span several generations and are complicated by marriages and changes of titles) as well as the disparity in their content and format (some comprise minutely-detailed day books, others include inventories of all items acquired during an individual's lifetime) and the oftentimes random nature in which they are archived. In many cases too, such accounts no longer exist. Where inventories are found to be lacking, portraiture can often inform us of the individual's intended wardrobe and public appearance. However, as previously mentioned, care must be taken to decipher whether the clothing depicted is fictitious. Taking into consideration these obstacles, I will consider a select sample of extant family papers and portraits belonging to three English noble households, which offer moderate continuity in their content and time-span. These include: the Dudley Papers (concerning the Earls of Leicester), the Devereux Papers (Earls of Essex), and manuscripts and portraits relating to the FitzAlan-Howard family (Earls of Arundel), which comprise Spanish items of particular note.

Before analysing the respective papers for each family group, it is worth first mentioning the significance of these titled families and the stratification of the English nobility and gentry more specifically. Titled members of the peerage (nobility) include, in order of rank, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and baronets, whilst titled members of the English gentry comprise baronets and knights (both titled 'Sir'), with untitled members including gentlemen and esquires.[96] Whilst my chosen families are all members of the English nobility, they have not been selected solely because of their social ranking, but because their family papers are generally intact and provide an ample range of data. That nearly all the individuals analysed here are earls does, however, mean that they are more easily comparable to one another; it is likely that they would have moved in the same social circles and that the wealth of their households, and nature of their expenses, would have been commensurate to their status at court. In addition, the members of these families provide interesting case studies owing to their significance to the two English queens, Mary and Elizabeth: either as court-favourites, powerful and noble families, or as politically-aware individuals who were in-tune with the pro- or anti-Spanish sentiments of the time, these characters played a prominent role in the courtly arena. Furthermore, these families represent a varied cross-section of English noble society at the time, representing, respectively, three diverse attitudes towards Spain: we find a pseudo-Hispanophile in the form of Robert Dudley; an anti-Spaniard in the shape of Walter Devereux; and a family of Catholic recusants as represented by the FitzAlan-Howards. When read

[96] A. F. Kinney, *Titled Elizabethans: A Directory of Elizabethan State & Church Officers & Knights with Peers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1558-1603* (Connecticut, 1973)

together, these noble figures illustrate the complexity of English ambivalence towards Spain during the sixteenth century.

Earl of Leicester: The 'Pseudo-Hispanophile'

Robert Dudley, the 1st Earl of Leicester, is famed for his 'rags to riches' story as the nobleman who rose through the ranks, gaining in reputation and fortune to become Elizabeth's court favourite and purported love interest. Whilst not traditionally considered a member of the 'Spanish Factions' at Mary and Elizabeth's courts, Dudley's early interaction with the Spanish entourage and his later military role as the Governor-General of the Netherlands, demonstrate that the earl had a complex and long-lasting relationship with Spain. The son of the disgraced Duke of Northumberland, with whom he was embroiled in a plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne in 1553, Dudley was imprisoned in the Tower of London where a young Princess Elizabeth was also incarcerated for her suspected involvement in the Wyatt Rebellion. Stripped of their titles and lands, the Dudley family were social outcasts. The nature of Dudley's release and subsequent redemption, therefore, has often been attributed to his Machiavellian practices as a social-climber; however, it was largely his mother, Jane, and brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, who secured his discharge from the Tower by aligning themselves with the Spanish entourage and befriending the Duke of Medina Celi and Don Diego de Mendoza, at Mary's court.[97] Over the course of the following four years, Dudley and his brothers were at the mercy of Philip and his Spanish entourage, used as pawns to promote Spanish interests in England (such as their participation in the aforementioned Anglo-Spanish tournaments) and abroad.[98] In 1557, Dudley was responsible for informing Mary that her Spanish husband would be returning to England, and later that year, he and his brothers fought under Philip II at the Battle of St Quentin. It was only in 1558 that the Dudley family's titles were restored.

The Dudley household accounts during this period suggest that Robert Dudley used Spanish dress to help garner support with the Spanish entourage and Faction at court. These accounts reveal that his household either had access to, or employed a 'Spanishe teyler' and a 'Spanishe hosier' to make their clothing, with Dudley purchasing a considerable number of Spanish garments and accessories to help him dress the part when attending court or banquets

[97] In her will, Jane wrote of her 'many friends about the King's Majesty'. See: A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (London, 1746), p.35; McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard', p.425; Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', p.181.
[98] McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard', pp.425-426.

with foreign ambassadors.[99] In the year 1558-1559, for instance, he placed orders with his Spanish tailor to make 'girkins trymmyd with silver lace and for the making of ij sattin doublets', to make 'your lordship's doblet and hose' and guard his 'lady's cloke', to make 'vj peir velvett hose', 'iij peir of Spanish hose viz white, russet & yellowe', and 'iij dobletts weltyd with velvet and on[e] of gould canvas'.[100] Alongside requests for clothing from his Spanish tailor, Dudley also placed a number of orders for items of clothing that were more explicitly described as being 'Spanish' in style and provenance, these included: Spanish skins ('ij Spanishe skynnes to make your lordship's jerkin trymyd with sylver lace'; 'a Spanishe lether jerkin gardyd with velvet'); footwear ('j payre of Spanyshe bouts'); gloves ('iiij peir of Spanish gloves'; 'one paier of Spannyshe gloves'), accessories ('a Spanishe chene'; 'vjdd gould buttons of the Spanishe fation'); textiles for household furnishings ('xxviij yerds of crimson Spanish taffi[ta] at viijs. the yerd to make curtens'); and clothing ('vjdd ribond points and a pece of Spanishe lace').[101] Tracey Wedge finds, in her research into Dudley's artificers, that he hired a considerable number of foreign craftsmen to create and influence his wardrobe: 'The stranger artificers brought their skill and design knowledge with them when they emigrated from their countries of origin…it would appear that Dutch styling became more prevalent within Leicester's wardrobe from the mid–1560's; although Spanish styling was still evident'.[102]

The year 1558-1559 proved significant to Dudley, not solely because he had finally been restored to favour, but also because under his new queen, Elizabeth, he held considerable sway at court. Elizabeth made Dudley Master of the Horse in late 1558, and by April 1559 he was invested with a Knighthood of the Order of the Garter. In his household account for 1558-1559, for instance, he is described as purchasing 'Spanishe ribbon to hange your lordship's [Cross of St] George bye'.[103] As well as receiving new titles and honours, Dudley also received the attention of his queen as well as the unwanted speculation at court regarding the nature of their 'friendship'. When his wife, Amy Dudley, died in 1560, Dudley was the first to be accused of murdering her to pursue Elizabeth. Prior to her death, Amy had appeared the dutiful wife, ordering a number of Spanish and Spanish-style clothing during the 1550s, presumably intended to provide a united and 'pro-Spanish' front at court to support her husband. Her

[99] S. Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.43; 56.
[100] Adams, *Household Accounts of Robert Dudley*, pp.87; 89; 90.
[101] Adams, *Household Accounts of Robert Dudley*, pp.86; 89-91; 135; 140; 175.
[102] T. L. Wedge, *Constructing splendour: the wardrobe of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), consumption and networks of production* (PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2013), pp.95-96.
[103] Adams, *Household Accounts of Robert Dudley*, p.89.

tailor's bill, for instance, comprises two Spanish gowns, one of 'rosset damaske' and another of 'velvet, wth a fringe of blacke sylke & golde', altogether worth 24s.[104] Like Mary, Amy also bought a number of loose gowns – five in total – made from heavy and luxurious textiles such as raised satin, damask and taffeta.[105]

Over the course of the next twenty years, Dudley's fortunes changed. He was briefly made Protector of the Realm in 1562 when Elizabeth fell ill with smallpox, and a year later he was granted landowner rights in Denbighshire and North Wales and given Kenilworth Manor.[106] By 1564 he had been named the 1st Earl of Leicester and within a few years had produced an illegimate son, by the widow of Douglas Sheffield, and become acquainted with Lettice Knollys, wife of Walter Devereux (1st Earl of Essex) who would later become his wife in 1578.[107] With time, Dudley's (like Elizabeth's) political leanings became increasingly anti-Spanish and his interest in Spanish fashions waned. Accordingly, then, his household accounts no longer express the same urgency to dress in Spanish garb as those of his earlier years, and by 1580, his inventory lists only a handful of Spanish items of clothing, including: several 'white Spanishe blankette[s]'; six Spanish skins of various colours ('ij ginger…ij oringe tawny j marrey & j crimson'); and seven 'white cordobane skins'.[108] We are reminded, here, of Elizabeth's own dress practices during the 'crisis years', when orders for more discreet textiles wares, such as leather shoes and boots, were numerous, whilst purchases of larger garments were practically non-existent. Towards the end of the decade, Dudley was involved in leading the English campaign supporting the Dutch Revolt and also served as Lieutenant and Captain-General of the English army during the Armada.[109] As to be expected, his clothing choices in this decade match his new position in terms of practicality and quality: he dressed himself in black velvet garb, 'a cote of blacke velvet embrothered allover', and two pairs of doublets 'covered wth blacke Satten', one with a plain collar and 'the other [with a] ruff'.[110] Intriguingly,

[104] IHR XR 48/3, Dudley Papers: 'Tailor's Bill for Amy Dudley', ff.5v; 6r.
[105] IHR XR 48/3, Dudley Papers: 'Tailor's Bill for Amy Dudley', ff.5r-6vr.
[106] E. Goldring, 'Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and the Earl of Leicester for Kenilworth Castle', *The Burlington Magazine*, 147:1231 (2005), p.654.
[107] Lettice famously possessed an extremely fashionable wardrobe and, purportedly, 'in marrying the Queen's favourite she forfeited the royal favour for good and when her gorgeous display of magnificent dresses roused the Queens jealousy anew, she was dismissed from the Court'. See: 'Lettice, Countess of Leicester', *Gentleman's Magazine* (1846), pp.250-57.
[108] IHR XR 43/3, Dudley Papers: '1580 Inventory', n.p.
[109] The English supported the Dutch Revolt and their attempt to eliminate Spanish presence in the Netherlands.
[110] IHR XR 43/3, Dudley Papers: '1580 Inventory', n.p.

his clothing became increasingly Dutch in style, a change that was, Wedge argues, 'indicative of his interest in, and support of, the Dutch nation'.[111]

When Dudley died in 1588, followed by his wife Lettice in 1634, the pair left a small but nonetheless costly ensemble of Spanish wares. As to be expected from a courtier who used Spanish fashions to win the hearts and minds of the Spanish entourage at Mary's court, Dudley's later inventories from a time when he fostered a more anti-Spanish attitude, bear no trace of Spanish clothing whatsoever. Only Lettice, who lived through the Anglo-Spanish war and a period of increased interest in Spain during the early seventeenth century, appears to have retained some Spanish accessories. On her death, she left, in her closet, two gilt Spanish flagons weighing 84oz, and, in her drawing room, two Spanish pockets and five pairs of Spanish gloves, one pair furred.[112] Dudley's 1590 household inventory, contrarily, includes just three Spanish bedsteads, and a single 'black velit carpet imbroderid wth a border of fyne Spanyshe [cloth] worked and lyned wth…Satten' – a far cry from the luxurious Spanish jerkins, doublets, boots and gloves he once adorned.[113]

Earl of Essex: The Ambivalent Consumer

The household accounts of Walter Devereux, the 1st Earl of Essex and late husband of Lettice Knollys, also comprise a number of interesting Spanish items of clothing, despite the Earl having little interaction with the 'Spanish Faction', entourage or ambassadors at court. Devereux spent considerable time in Ireland during the course of his career and was involved in the English attempts to colonise areas of Ulster.[114] We know relatively little about Devereux's dress practices during his later years in the 1570s; however, two inventories survive from 1559 and 1560, which are telling of the ways in which the Earl, and potentially other titled nobility may have placed value upon Spanish wares. Like his peers, Devereux purchased a

[111] Amongts Dudley's retinue to artificers were thirteen Dutch craftsmen, a 'high proportion', Wedge states, which is 'interesting when considering Leicester's later sympathies for the plight of Protestants in the Netherlands an his Governor Generalship in the 1580s'. See: Wedge, *Constructing splendour*, pp.91; 216.
[112] 'Lettice, Countess of Leicester', *Gentleman's Magazine* (1846), pp.250-57; V. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour and ladies of the privy chamber* (New York, 1922), p.81.
[113] IHR XR 48/3, Dudley Papers: '1590 Inventory', ff. 57v; 59v; 61v; 62v.
[114] In 1573, Walter Devereux set sail for the Irish province of Ulster where he intended to colonise the area with the aid of 1200 Englishmen. He was unsuccessful in his attempts and returned to England in 1575. Devereux later travelled to Dublin in 1576, this time under the title of Earl Marshall of Ireland, where he died three weeks later. See: M. O'Dowd, 'William Piers' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) www.oxforddnb.com [accessed online: 22/02/18] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22236>

great quantity of black clothing around the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. This turn towards sombre clothing could be interpreted as an appropriate transition into mourning clothing following Mary's death; however, Devereux's orders for black garb throughout the year are punctuated by the purchase of red clothing during the month of February. From March 1559 onwards Devereux returns to his black wardrobe, as well as to Spanish clothing. Amongst orders for eight black satin doublets, five black leather jerkins, twelve black cloaks, three black coats, one black gown and one black robe, Devereux also commissions the making and purchase of seven Spanish garments and textile pieces.[115] A year later, he also places a further order for a black leather jerkin and a black velvet gown.

Around this time, Devereux's Spanish textile purchases are described as follows: he places an order for 'x oz of [Spanyshe] Silke to the same gowne' worth twenty shillings; 'x oz of yelowe granado Silke' worth twelve shillings and eleven dickers; and 'iij oz of blacke [Spanishe] silke to the same cloke' worth eleven shillings.[116] He also commissions the 'making of the jerkin…lyned wt Spanyshe silke taffeta' worth thirteen shillings, a Spanish leather jerkin 'laid all on wt blye [blue] silke and gould [gold] lace & lyned through out wt purple taffeta' worth thirty-one shillings, some 'Spanishe lether for the same jerkin' worth twenty-three shillings, and a 'Spanishe lether kerkin cut & gored' worth ten shillings.[117] Taking into consideration the other elite wardrobes discussed in this chapter and Chapter Three, it seems fair to conclude that the vogue for dressing in both Spanish and black clothing appears to have been at its height during the third quarter of the century, when Spain's presence in England was still keenly felt.

It seems unlikely, however, that Devereux used his Spanish clothing in the same politicised manner as Dudley, Mary and Elizabeth, or indeed Philip's pensioners. Devereux had very little contact with the Spanish at court and strove instead to be in Elizabeth's good favour. His consumption habits reveal an individual who enjoyed Spanish wares simply because they were considered highly luxurious. In his inventories, for instance, Devereux takes pains to specify when he has placed orders for high-quality 'Spanishe' clothing or textiles, yet he makes only vague mention of other, 'foreigne Silke' orders. No other European imports are granted the same care and detail as his Spanish purchases. This lackadaisical approach to

[115] IHR XR 50/2, Devereux Papers, ff. 15r; 18r; 19v; 20v; 21v; 79v.
[116] IHR XR 50/2, Devereux Papers, ff.15r; 16r; 20v.
[117] IHR XR 50/2, Devereux Papers, ff.18r; 19v; 21v.

inventorying imported goods illustrates the value placed upon Spanish wares and demonstrates that, in some cases, the wearing of Spanish fashions was not always intended as a weapon of social leverage or a deliberate political commentary on the Anglo-Spanish union. For Devereux, it was a means of approximating himself to the finest fashions in Europe and self-identifying as a man of significant means.

This attitude towards Spanish dress resurfaces later on in the century, when further items of Spanish garb re-emerge in the Devereux Papers. In 1597, two orders are placed for 'Spanish clothing' presumably belonging now to Walter's son, Robert Devereux, who is known to have been involved in a number of English military expeditions against Spain.[118] These entries are described in considerably less detail than in Walter's inventories; however their presence is no less striking. Robert Devereux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, became known as Elizabeth's favourite during her later years; however, his privileged position was relatively short-lived. In 1600, after having fought for the Queen against Spain in the English Armada (1589) and the capture of Cádiz (1596), Robert was convicted of treason for his embroilment in the Essex Rebellion and his failure as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was executed in 1601.[119] That Robert should choose to purchase and potentially wear Spanish clothing a year after he led English troops into Cádiz is unusual given his anti-Spanish standpoint. It is possible, therefore, that he was following in his father's footsteps and purchasing this 'Spanish clothing' for its reputed high quality and fashionable style, rather than necessarily expressing good will, or an alliance, towards Spain. However, taking into consideration Elizabeth's politicised dress practices discussed in Chapter Three, and her tendency to don Spanish garb as a nationalistic symbol of a 'victorious England', it is also plausible that Robert might have mimicked his monarch's sartorial habits. Robert Devereux's Spanish dress may have been worn as an allusion to spoils from the sacking of Cádiz.

The Earls of Arundel: The 'Church Papists'

The Earls of Arundel, comprising the FitzAlan-Howard families, were the leading Catholic recusant family in England during Elizabeth's reign. They possessed properties in Sussex (Arundel Castle), Surrey (Nonsuch Palace) and London, and held prominent positions

[118] IHR XR 50/2, Devereux Papers, f.79v.
[119] L. H. Cadwallader, *The Career of the Earl of Essex from the Islands Voyage in 1597 to His Execution in 1601* (Philadelphia, 1923), p.83.

at court until their demise following Philip Howard's death in 1595 and the confiscation of his wife, Anne Dacre's property. Importantly, the FitzAlan-Howard's also moved in 'Spanish circles': they became embroiled with Spaniards in political plots and formed friendships with notable Spanish nobility. We might expect then, to find considerable Spanish wares and garb in their household possessions. However, there exist few surviving inventories for the Earls of Arundel. Henry FitzAlan's inventory, 'An inventory of the Earl of Arundel's goods in the Castle of Arundel, July 20 1580' (BL Lansdowne MS 30/83), provides insight into the types of exotic textiles and luxurious household furnishings that the 19th Earl purchased for his home. In amongst his list of green silk curtains, embroidered cushions and leather chairs, we find numerous entries for 'Turkie carpettes', which may have resembled the carpet painted in *The Somerset House Conference, 19 August 1604* (fig.141) that commemorates the signing of the Anglo-Spanish treaty.[120] However, there exist no entries for Spanish items of clothing or household wares in this inventory. Accounts from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries pertaining to the Howard family (who married into the FitzAlan family) also paint a picture of a wealthy household; yet, once again, wardrobe expenses are omitted from these inventories.[121] Without this documentary evidence, we cannot conclude definitively that the Arundels owned or wore Spanish garb. This is not to say, however, that they did not exhibit strong Spanish connections or pro-Spanish sentiments. Their interactions with the Spanish nobility at court suggest that the Arundels favoured, and were favoured by, the Spanish.

Their portraiture illustrates that they enjoyed dressing in the kind of modest, black clothing that was also favoured by Philip and Spanish entourage. Several portraits survive that document two prominent men of the FitzAlan-Howard families: Henry FitzAlan, 19th Earl of Arundel (figs.142-143) and his grandson, Philip Howard, 20th Earl of Arundel (fig.144). In these images, the men are shown dressed in black hose, jerkin and cape, punctuated with a white ruff, in a style matching that of Philip in his portrait by Sofonisba Anguissola (fig.4) and similar images of nobles dressed in Spanish garb from the period (figs.136-140). Thomas Howard's dress, in particular, echoes the fashions depicted in Hans van der Beken's mural, *Viaje de la emperatriz maria desde praga* (fig.145). Whilst the colour black was generally considered fashionable amongst the European nobility, it became, as Davidson argues, the

[120] BL MS Lansdowne 30/83: 'An inventory of the Earl of Arundel's goods in the Castle of Arundel, July 20, 1580', ff.217v; 218v; 219v.
[121] J. P. Collier (ed.) *Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481-90* (London, 1844); Phillips MS 3841: 'Household Account Book of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey'.

'hallmark of [Spanish] court dress' and 'the enduring colour to define sober "Spanishness" in contrast with riotous English and French fashions' during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[122] It also bore intensely religious associations, signifying puritanism for both orthodox Catholics and Protestants alike, as discussed at length in Chapter One. In Spain, Philip and his court dressed in what he termed an 'ecclesiastical black'.[123] Colomer speculates that black was used by Philip to assert his religious authority: '[Philip] imbued this colour with the same ascetic connotation as the habits of Augustinian and Benedictine monks, but above all [with] those of the Dominican inquisitors, whom Philip…wished to associate with his image as supreme judge of a repressive state'.[124]

Whilst we cannot say conclusively that the Arundel's wore black garb so as to copy their Spanish neighbours, it is likely that there reasons for dressing in black were not so dissimilar to Philip's: black dress connoted religious humility and asceticism. By adhering to the Catholic faith in an increasingly Protestant England, and by wearing black, however, the FitzAlan-Howards did not do much to assuage the accusations that they were 'Church Papists'. Indeed, they became increasingly unpopular with the Protestant Crown as the century progressed with Henry's own daughter, Jane FitzAlan, marrying John Lumley, 1st Baron of Lumley, who was later embroiled in the Ridolfi Plot with Philip to restore Catholicism to the realm.[125] Henry's other daughter, Mary FitzAlan married the aforementioned Thomas Howard, who schemed to wed Mary Queen of Scots in 1569 and was also engaged in the Ridolfi Plot and executed in 1572.[126] It was their son Philip Howard, however, who had the greatest dealings with the Spanish, being the godson of Philip II and converting to Catholicism in 1581. When he and his family later attempted to flee England for religious sanctuary overseas, Philip was captured, kept under house arrest, and later incarcerated in the Tower of London until his

[122] H. Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish Court' in G. Riello; P. McNeil (eds.) *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (New York, 2010), p.169.
[123] Davidson, 'Fashion in the Spanish Court', p.169; J. L. Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.I (Madrid, 2014), p.90.
[124] Indeed, Philip described the colour as 'so grave and decent and religious' ('es tan grave y decente y religioso'). See: J. I. Tellechea Idígoras, *Felipe II y el papado*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2004), pp.191-92 [translation mine]; Colomer, 'Black and the Royal Image', p.90.
[125] G. Parker, 'The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp.189-190; 192; C. Hamshere, 'The Ridolfi Plot, 1571', *History Today*, 26:1 (1976), pp.32-39.
[126] Hamshere, 'The Ridolfi Plot, 1571', pp.32-39.

death in 1595. During this period, he was accused of having 'caused Mass to be said for the success of the Spaniards' during the Spanish Armada.[127]

Concluding Thoughts

The English negotiation of Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century reveals a complex and, at times, seemingly paradoxical attitude towards her once ally and later rival. Owing to a sustained interest in foreign luxury wares amongst the English upper classes, and in spite of multiple Anglo-Spanish embargoes during this period, many individuals continued to wear Spanish fashions throughout the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth simply because they were the considered the 'best' in Europe (see Chapter Two). Indeed, the continued exchange of Spanish luxury goods into England during this period reveals a taste for genuine Hispanophilia amongst the English elite classes. However, as I have argued, this material exchange also reveals a more mercenary trend towards 'pseudo-Hispanophilia' amongst the nobility, which has been defined in this chapter as an approximation to, and 'interest' in Spain and Spanish wares as governed by the individual's social agenda as well as by his or her consumerist desires. By this very definition, individuals such as the pensioners and Robert Dudley can all be categorised as 'pseudo-Hispanophiles' insofar as their inclination towards consuming Spanish fashions demonstrates a desire to bolster their status and win the favour of the Spanish entourage, without necessarily supporting pro-Spanish ideologies. An analysis of Walter Devereux's household accounts, by contrast, reveals that members of the elite classes continued to purchase Spanish fashions largely because of their desirability rather than to accrue funds and popularity amongst the Spanish entourage, whilst the example of the FitzAlan-Howards shows that dressing in black was in vogue for Catholic recusants who wished to illustrate their religious asceticism through the painterly depictions of their clothing.

As evidenced through the close examination of a number of textual and visual sources pertaining to elite individuals – such as household accounts, inventories, letters, eye-witness accounts and portraiture – purchases of foreign Spanish wares were more often than not motivated by a desire to gain political and social leverage. These individuals purchased Spanish fashions with as much of an eye to their 'immaterial' cultural value as symbols of Spain – and to the effects of wearing such garb in the company of the Spanish entourage - as to their

[127] M. S. F. Hervey, *The life, correspondence and collections of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel* (Cambridge, 1921), p.8.

monetary value as expensive imported wares. Beyond showcasing the wearer's sense of style and loose purse strings, Tudor consumption habits, I have argued, illustrate how members of the English court were in tune with the political and religious climate of the day. These elite individuals used foreign clothing from Spain as a vehicle for expressing their attitudes towards the Anglo-Spanish alliance and, increasingly, for feigning pro-Spanish sentiments to aid their own social ambitions at court. More often than not, these English acts of 'dressing the Spanish way' were highly politicised.

EPILOGUE

FABRICATING THE BLACK LEGEND: SPANISH CLOTHING AND ITS COMEDIC STRATEGIES

> Let vs examine…and see who it is, that is guiltie of these moste heinous crimes you obiect…That hee [the Spaniard] is milde by nature, and seeketh no mans bloud, First aske his slaughtered sonne, and wife, aske the millions of Moores, and poore Portingales, aske thousands of Neopolitanes, and Dutchmen, aske Frenchmen, and Italians, yea and the English, that have been tortured, and tormented to death by him…[1]

The anonymously penned pamphlet, *A Fig for the Spaniard* (1591), is just one of several hundred Black Legend texts to have been published in England during the late sixteenth century.[2] These texts, which aimed at denigrating Spain by claiming to expose the purportedly 'true nature' of England's enemy, emerged during a period of increasing hostility between Spain and her neighbouring countries. By the 1590s, growing religious conflict and unease towards Spanish imperial presence had led to a dramatic rise in Hispanophobia and a series of military and naval clashes between nations: the Armada; the murder of William I of Orange; the sack of Antwerp; and the Dutch Revolt. The Black Legend of Spain, a term coined by Hispanist Julián Juderías in 1912 to describe the Hispanophobic discourse embodying English and European responses to these historic events, has, since the sixteenth century, negatively coloured English and European attitudes towards Spain. As Sverker Arnoldsson has also surmised, Spaniards have historically been accused of 'cruelty, despotism, pride, and falsehood, close relations with the heated Catholic Church and the Inquisition, and of [being]

[1] Anon, *A Fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish Spirits. Wherein are liuelie portraihed the damnable deeds, miserable murders, and monstrous massacres of the cursed Spaniard…* (London, 1591), pp.B2-B3.
[2] The 'fig' sign was a gestural insult commonly associated with the Spanish, which consisted of 'putting the thumb between the fore and middle finger, [as] an insulting gesture of copulation'. See: G. Taylor; J. Jowett; T. Bourus; G. Egan (eds.), *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Completed Works, Modern Critical Edition* (Oxford, 2016), p.1432.

a racial mixture of Moors, Jews and *marranos*'.[3] Initially peddled by Protestant pamphleteers and propagandists during Elizabeth's reign, these Hispanophobic assaults gave birth to an injurious cultural stereotype of Spain, popularized by Englishmen and Europeans who sought recompense for the purported 'torment' and 'popery' inflicted upon them by their Iberian rivals.[4]

Having examined earlier Spanish dress practices and Anglo-Spanish commercial exchanges in Chapters One and Two, and the politicised use of fashionable Spanish clothing amongst England's aristocracy and nobility in Chapters Three and Four, this final section considers what became of Spanish fashions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries once Anglo-Spanish relations had truly soured. Specifically, it examines the broader and more negative implications of Anglo-Spanish affairs in the English and European context, and it shows how individual English and European acts of Hispanophobia, which both dictated and echoed contemporary attitudes towards Spain, served to propagate the Black Legend and target Spain as Europe's 'common enemy', and ultimately resulted in Spanish dress being deployed in visual, material and print culture to comedic effect. As previous scholars have acknowledged, these later acts of Hispanophobia were expressed textually in the Black Legend tracts, pamphlets, and chronicles that were produced in abundance in England, France and the Netherlands: pictorially, in satirical and mythological portraits and prints which represented the stereotypically proud Spaniard in his trademark ruff, cloak and curled moustache; and physically, through xenophobia-induced riots, public unrest, and theatrical performances. I argue that they were also expressed *materially* through clothing choices. I demonstrate that as well as consuming Spanish clothing as fashionable dress, some Englishmen also wore mock-Spanish costumes and disguises in a satirical nod to the nation represented. These English acts of cross-cultural dressing relied upon a common ideation of what the archetypal 'Spaniard'

[3] According to an English dictionary of 1598, a *marrano* is defined as being 'a jew, an infidel, a renegade. A nickname for a Spaniard'. See: E. V. Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards and Portingales: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *ELH*, 69:3 (2002), p.603; S. Arnoldsson, 'La leyenda negra: estudios sobre sus orígenes', *Goteborgs Universitets Arsskrift*, 66:3 (1960)

[4] The term 'Hispanophobia' signifies a fear of, dislike and aversion to Spain and Hispanic culture. It is an offshoot of the term 'xenophobia' which is described in the Oxford English dictionary as meaning, 'a deep antipathy to foreigners'. Its first known use was in 1877. See: 'Xenophobia' in Oxford English Dictionary Online, www.oed.com [accessed online: 27/07/17] <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/230996?redirectedFrom=xenophobia&>; 'Xenophobia' in Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online, www.merriam-webster.com [accessed online: 27/07/17] <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/xenophobia>

looked like – his image, characteristics and customs – an appearance more often than not based upon xenophobic stereotypes.[5]

This epilogue pays close attention to the invention of the stock image of 'the Spaniard' in Black Legend material, as expressed textually and described visually through the representation of his physical appearance in prints and theatrical performances. It begins by examining the increase in xenophobia in England during the sixteenth century, before focusing on a series of Black Legend texts that express the sartorial, physical, and behavioural attributes which make up 'the Spaniard'. It moves on to analyse how these textual representations of Spaniards were translated into visual caricatures in prints and on canvas during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before considering the creation of the theatrical caricature of the Spaniard on stage and in street pageants, as performed through English acts of cross-cultural dressing. Given the wide geographical and chronological focus of this section (the production of Black Legend material spanned both England and Europe and gathered momentum during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), the sources deployed here naturally reflect the broad tapestry of voices involved in this Hispanophobic discourse. This epilogue relies primarily on printed Black Legend texts such as pamphlets, chronicles, ballads and plays whose readers and spectators would have been vast, totalling 25,000 a week in the London playhouses alone; eye-witness accounts of street pageants; printed images and paintings whose audiences comprised both popular and elite classes; and legal and government papers in the form of State Papers and Aliens Returns which reveal the complaints and indictments registered with the Crown against foreigners residing in England.[6]

[5] This transgressive use of clothing by the English was matched, contrarily, by an equal trend amongst foreign Catholic priests who disguised their appearances with lay dress. The practice of disguise, Susan Vincent argues, relied upon a common understanding of how certain groups dressed: 'In order to mask [one's own] identity and put on the characteristics of another sort of person, there needed to exist a shared understanding of how different social groups acted and appeared. There was a tacit agreement, at least, as to dress, posture, demeanour, voice and speech' See: S. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford/New York, 2003), pp.159-162.

[6] As Eric Griffin finds, 'if there were a dozen public theaters in London, each capable of admitting as many as 1,500 or more audience members per show, up to 25,000 people per week may have attended performances. These venues would thus have provided an experiential community surpassed only by required church attendance', see: E. J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia, 2009), p.13; A. F. Kinney; D. W. Swain (eds.), *Tudor England: An Encyclopaedia* (New York, 2001), p.693.

Pamphlets and Print Culture: Spreading the Word and Image of Anti-Hispanicism to England and Beyond

Whilst the creation of the printing press in c.1440 has often been credited with the rise in circulation of reformist propaganda, it was also responsible for the deluge of anti-Spanish literature that emerged at the end of the sixteenth century. Responsible for these Black Legend pamphlets, treatises and books were a body of print-makers and propagandists comprising John Wolfe, Edward Daunce, James Wadsworth, Robert Ashley, and William Lightfoot, and spear-headed by William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Black Legend writers also included authors who penned their anti-Spanish rhetoric anonymously. Through their defamatory writings, this English network, Griffin argues, effectively 'erased evidence of cultural complementarity, overwriting the field of Anglo-Hispanic relations with English national significance'.[7] They strove, he explains, to cover up any history of Anglo-Spanish alliance and any suggestion of religious instability in England by 'ridiculing Spanish policy, [and] dichotomizing and ethnicizing Spanish nationality' so as to 'reconfigure England's public spaces as a reformed, national landscape'.[8] English responses to their overseas rival, therefore, were as much to do with their own understanding of English national identity as they were to do with Spain.

To understand the demonization of Spain, we must first consider contemporary attitudes towards foreigners and the conception of national and foreign identities. This has been touched upon briefly in Chapters Two and Four; however, I will delve into this topic further here. Sixteenth-century London was remarkably cosmopolitan. As mentioned in Chapter Two, 200,000 individuals were believed to have resided in the capital in 1600, including a large population of religious exiles from the Low Countries and France, as well as Spanish and Italian merchants and craftsmen. London prospered from a lucrative overseas trade, closely followed in scale and popularity by the busy international ports of Bristol and Southampton. Along with the boom in printing technologies, burgeoning global trade routes allowed for an unprecedented level of interaction between foreign peoples, both imagined and real. With this increase in multiculturalism and new modes of communication came, Cynthia Lowenthal argues, a rise in xenophobia and a 'belief that one culture could know the other, especially

[7] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.191.
[8] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.205.

through the external "signs" of a nation', such as physical appearances and dress.[9] These 'signs' were also believed to be internal – the individual's biological make-up, the composition of their bodily humours and their psychology. Travel literature, costume books and merchants' accounts from the period abound in textual and visual descriptions of foreigners (both Western and non-Western), reduced to stock images and characteristics which could be consumed by Englishmen eager to placate their anxieties concerning these 'strange' and unfamiliar aliens. The practice of essentializing foreigners – the act of boiling an individual's national identity down to a set of homogenous and easily recognisable characteristics and behaviours – allowed for the construction of cultural stereotypes that served to differentiate the native Englishman from his continental neighbours and, in the words of Laura Hunt Yungblut, their 'un-English' traits:

> The increasing presence of foreigners with their "foreign ways" brought many native preconceptions and misconceptions about them to the surface and kept them in the forefront, exaggerating them more and more as time passed. Interestingly, contact with the aliens actually seems to have fueled the solidification of the stereotypes rather than the reverse. The more the natives discovered about the foreigners and their habits through daily contact, the more "strange" and "un-English" they found these habits to be.[10]

If discerning 'un-English' traits, and identifying foreigners was relatively easy in the sixteenth century, then defining 'Englishness' was decidedly less so. Contemporary eye-witness accounts from foreigners encountering Englishmen for the first time offer insight into how 'Englishness' was perceived from an outsider's point of view. The travel writer Nicander Nucius, for example, describes the English as being 'fair, inclining to a light colour; in their personality they are tall and erect; the hair of their beard and head is of a golden hue; their eyes blue, for the most part, and their cheeks are ruddy'.[11] In personality and character, they are considered 'martial and valorous, insatiable of animal food; sottish and unrestrained in their appetites; full of suspicion' and, according to the Italian courtier Andrea Trevisano, proud: 'the English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that

[9] C. Lowenthal, 'Performing Nations on the Restoration Stage: Wycherley's Gentleman Dancing-Master' in J. Munns; R. Richards (eds.) *The Clothes that Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in the Eighteenth Century Culture* (Newark, 1999), p.39.
[10] L. Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, perceptions & the presence of aliens in Elizabethan England* (London/New York, 1996), p.46.
[11] Nicander Nucius (c.1545-56) cited in W. Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), pp.xlvii-xlviii.

there are no other men than themselves, and no other world than England'.[12] By contrast, other European authors struggled to define 'Englishness' and English garb. The Italian physician and astrologer Girolamo Cardano, for instance, compared the English to their European neighbours:

> In figure, they [the English] are much like the Italians; they are white – whiter than we are, not so ruddy; and they are broad-chested. There are some among them of great stature; urbane and friendly to the stranger, but they are quickly angered, and are in that state to be dreaded. They are strong in war; but they want caution; greedy enough after food and drink…There are great intellects among them. In dress they are like Italians; for they are glad to boast themselves most nearly allied to them, and therefore study to imitate as much as possible the manner of their clothes. And yet, even in form they are more like the Germans, the French and the Spaniards.[13]

Despite these differing accounts about the 'English' make-up, there did exist numerous items of clothing which were markedly 'English' in their design and execution. Blackwork embroidery, as well as colourful stumpwork and crewelwork, were popularly applied to women's linens and bodices (figs.146-148), which were cut with a square neckline and worn with a partlet.[14] Men's fashions were less easily distinguishable from the dress of their European neighbours, but were largely characterised by doublets with V-shaped peascod bellies, trunk hose and soft hats (fig.149). Some of these pieces can be seen in maps from the period, such as Georg Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarvm* (c.1612-18), which depicts individuals dressed in their 'national' garb alongside topographical scenes of European cities. In the margins of his map for 'Yorke; Shrowesbvry; Lancaster; [and] Richmont' (fig.150), Braun presents four English couples dressed in early seventeenth-century dress typical to their station. The wardrobes of the King and Queen ('Rex et Regina'), the nobility ('Nobiles Anglicae'), the townspeople ('Ciues Anglicae'), and the country folk ('Anglicae Rustici') are similar in their basic components and style (gown, doublet, and breeches); however, their clothing becomes

[12] Andrea Trevisano (1497) cited in Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp.xliii-xliv.
[13] Girolamo Cardano also uses European reference points to characterise the English: 'As regards their manners and mode of living, ornaments and vestments, they resemble the French more than others, and for the most part they use their language'. And, Samuel Purchas, too, in his *Pilgrimes* (1625), credits the vogue for overseas travel as the cause for the English taste for foreign manners and dressing: '[Englishmen] adventure themselves to see the fashions of other countries, whence they bring home a few smattering termes, flattering garbes, apish crings, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of neighbour nations'. See: Samuel Purchas (1625) cited in Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp.xx-xxi; Girolamo Cardano (1552) cited in Brenchley Rye. *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp.xlviii-l.
[14] Ironically, however, it must be noted that blackwork is believed to have been a Spanish creation introduced into England by Catherine of Aragon. See: M. Gostelow, *Blackwork* (New York, 1977), p.9.

more modest as we descend the social ladder. The fur trim on the Queen's gown, for example, is contrasted with the plain petticoat of the farmer's wife. The *Trevelyon Miscellany*, a manuscript created in 1608 by English craftsman Thomas Trevelyon, also reveals how the English saw themselves.[15] Men are depicted in ballooning hose, slashed jerkins with peascod bellies, square collars or modest ruffs; and women are shown dressed in either Spanish or French farthingales, French sleeves, bodices with low necklines and partlets, and ruffs (fig.151). Their wardrobes are coloured with reds, yellows, blues and greens – a far cry from the black associated with Spanish garb, or indeed Mary Tudor's wardrobe discussed in Chapter Three.

The concept of an English 'nationalism', as a political ideology which advocated for 'the interests of one's own nation…to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations', was not formally established until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16] However, this is not to say that English individuals did not possess a sense of 'nationhood' or articulate some awareness of how their own collective identities and appearances as 'Englishmen' might differ from say that of a Frenchman, Spaniard or Italian. In his work on the topic of nationhood, Peter Stallybrass borrows from Benedict Anderson's theory that nations exist as 'imagined political communit[ies]' to argue that, in the early modern context, the nation consisted of more than mere physical territory; it was a mental construction designed to ease anxieties concerning one's own place in an increasingly interconnected world:[17]

> While the nation is inscribed within geographical boundaries which separate inlaws from outlaws, brother from others, it is not only a spatial entity. The nation has to be invented or written, and written, what is more, in the crucial and troubling knowledge that *it could be written otherwise*.[18]

Both Ribeiro and Lowenthal support Stallybrass and Anderson's theories, finding that early English print material tended to be characterised by a sense of 'victorious nationalism' and 'a

[15] Trevelyon also draws together a plethora of moralizing and historical sources – proverbs, lists of virtues and vices, biblical stories, and astrological diagrams of the planets and stars – for the reader's delectation.
[16] 'Nationalism' in Oxford English Dictionary Online, www.oed.com [accessed online: 18/01/2017] <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125289?redirectedFrom=nationalism#eid>
[17] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/New York, 2006), p.22.
[18] P. Stallybrass, 'Time, Space and Unity: the Symbolic Discourse of The Faerie Queene' in R. Samuel (ed.) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, Vol.III National Fictions (London, 1989), p.44. [italics mine]

secular patriotic rhetoric that celebrated the excellencies of the island' at the expense of other nations.[19] This is most keenly evidenced in the Black Legend pamphlet, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, which deliberately pits England against Spain. We can perhaps gauge a better understanding, however, of how Englishmen viewed themselves through their descriptions of *others*, found in later publications towards the end of the sixteenth century. The stock representation of the 'proud' and 'cruel' Spaniard, for instance, as fabricated through Black Legend texts, is proof of a nation 'written otherwise' – to borrow Stallybrass' terms – whose image has been fashioned by its English rivals in a bid to highlight the perceived polarity between the two nations. It is unsurprising, therefore, given this trend for negative stereotyping, that instances of xenophobia should arise in England, particularly at a time when her overseas diplomatic relations were riddled with religious unrest and warfare.

On home soil, Lien Bich Luu finds three main causes of English hostility towards foreigners in the capital city of London – social exclusivity, economic strain and increased visibility – which, she argues, routinely 'precipitated attacks on aliens, harassment and molestation by informers, and complaints'.[20] Social exclusivity, she argues, was the premise by which foreigners were perceived as keeping to themselves, trading unfavourably with Englishmen, and refusing to exchange craft expertise. It was accompanied by an overall feeling of economic strain amongst English manufacturers whose domestic industries were believed to have suffered from the importation of more desirable foreign wares and skills. Given this sentiment, Bich Luu concludes, the visibility of foreigners on the streets of London – easily identified through their physical appearance, language, and place of worship or residence – made them increasingly susceptible to xenophobic assaults. Hunt Yungblut has also found that attitudes towards foreigners were often paradoxical at times: 'Owing largely' she argues, 'to the twin perceptions that the aliens deserved sanctuary for religious conscience and offered potential economic benefits, but also represented a possible threat in many respects'.[21] Frederick Norwood too, cites 'strangers' prosperity' and 'great numbers' as further causes of English jealousy and xenophobia.[22]

[19] A. Ribeiro. 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice: Perceptions of Spain and Spanish Dress in Seventeenth-century England', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), p.320; Lowenthal, 'Performing Nations', p.43.
[20] L. Bich Luu, 'Taking the bread out of our mouths: Xenophobia in early modern London', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 19:2 (2000), p.3.
[21] Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us*, p.44.
[22] F. A. Norwood, *The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force* (Chicago, 1942), p.86.

According to Bich Luu, we can gauge the levels of xenophobia in London during this time based on the number of riots amongst apprentices that were fuelled by a mistrust of foreigners (the aforementioned Evil May Day in 1517 being the largest and most violent episode of public unrest in the sixteenth century, with a further three riots in 1584 and 1595), but also through assessing the entries in the Aliens Returns. As discussed at length in Chapter Two, the Returns recorded the number of immigrants residing and working in London and were, significantly, drawn up whenever substantial complaints were lodged against foreigners.[23] According to Appendix C, the years 1567-1568, 1571, 1582-1583 and 1585 saw a rise in the creation of Returns and presumably a greater unease towards aliens. The frequency of xenophobia-induced attacks, and the scale of Black Legend prints in circulation from the late 1580s onwards, can therefore be read as symptomatic of the overall malaise surrounding unemployment rates, warfare, commercial embargoes and plague in England. Englishmen, disgruntled with their lot, were quick to point the finger at foreigners.

Whilst other scholars (Benjamin Schmidt, Samson and Goldman) cite political events as the main trigger to the Black Legend discourse and the rise in Hispanophobia, it is worth lingering here first on Bich Luu's third cause for xenophobia – the increased visibility of foreigners. This notion of 'visibility' is, I argue, closely tied to the English construction of an essentialized, stock image 'the Spaniard' which was deliberately intended to denigrate Spaniards and to justify the vitriol of the Black Legend. Many Spaniards were easily identifiable on the streets of London and other port cities owing to their tendency to dress 'the Spanish way'.[24] As a result, they became easy targets for xenophobic abuse. The Black Legend text, *A Fig for a Spaniard*, for instance, recalls an incident in a plaza in Lisbon where a Spaniard was attacked for looking 'too Spanish' in his habit:

> A Portingal gentleman walking in the Roccio of Lisbon, espied a base Castilian of such proud and presumptuous demenor, so fantasticall in his attire, loftie in his looks, and slow in his pace, (as though he had bin treading of measures) could not long bear him, but bearded him, and iustled him.[25]

[23] Bich Luu, 'Xenophobia in early modern London', pp.5-9.
[24] The Spanish were amongst the few courtiers to refuse to adopt English court dress when visiting the country, as was the custom of errant ambassadors and diplomats, and therefore would have been easily distinguishable at Mary and Elizabeth's courts. See: K. Stagg, *The Spanish Ambassadors in London during the Reign of Elizabeth I* (PhD Thesis: University of Bristol, 1979).
[25] Anon, *A Fig for a Spaniard*, p.C2.

The Spaniard's distinctive manner of dressing and walking in public is also identified in *The Character of Spain or, an Epitome of their Virtues and Vices* (1660) which describes how:

> …they delight infinitely in their imagin'd *Grandeza*, outward appearances and honor, not at all regarding their private interest, so that they can but create unto themselves the opinion and esteem of the world; and if they want good Apparel, and biting penury nips them, they will fast two or three days for a handsom Cloak, or a starch'd Ruff, and then strut it abroad in state; so deliberately do they measure their way, as if they said a *Pater Noster* or an *Ave Maria* between every step…[26]

Numerous other Black Legend texts from the period warn of the Spaniard's outwardly luxurious fashions and charms, cautioning the Englishman to be wary of Spanish trickery and false appearances. As State Papers reveal too, the general consensus at Elizabeth's court was that Spaniards, despite their looks, could not be trusted. In a letter addressed to Lord Burghley in 1571, for instance, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote, 'the Spaniard means not best when he speaks fairest'.[27] This sentiment is reminiscent of earlier Hispanophobic texts, including the 1556 publication, *The Copye of a Letter, sent by John Bradforth to the right honourable lords the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsburye, and Pembroke…*, described in Chapter Four. Bradforth's letter was directed towards the 'Spanish Faction' who were known for having shown favour towards Philip during his marriage to Mary. In it, Bradforth warns against the flattery of the Spanish entourage who wish to win over these noblemen and secure the realm of England for the Habsburgs:

> And yet thei say, thei must of necessite flatter my lord Treasorer and my lord Paget craftili, til they mai obtaine their purpose. Because thei two bee apte vessels to worke treason by. You may well perceiue therfore that they will flatter al you, seeing they flatter those whom they take for their enemies, and so fayne these lies against my lord Paget inuented treaterously, to make him out of the way, with the rest.[28]

As well as articulating the concerns of the day (that England should become annexed to Spain and subsequently re-Catholicised) Bradforth also plays to the sensibilities of his noble readers,

[26] Anon, *The Character of Spain or, an Epitome of their Virtues and Vices* (1660), pp.4-5.
[27] TNA SP 70/117: 'Letter from Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley [5 March 1571]', f.6r.
[28] J. Bradford, *The Copye of a Letter, sent by John Bradforth to the right honourable lords the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsburye, and Pembroke, declaring the nature of the Spaniardes, and discovering the most detestable treasons which they have pretended most falsely agaynste our moste noble kingdome of Englande* (London, 1556), p.D7v-D8.

using flattery *himself* to reassure them that his letter is not like the 'pestiferous bokes and letters lately printed in Englyshe…against Spaniardes', to be read by 'simple persons'.[29] Instead, he argues, it is a true account of 'the natural disposicion of Spaniardes' as discovered from having learnt the language and lived 'amongest them'.[30] Later Black Legend texts addressed to noble readers familiar with Spanish literature, such as *The Character of Spain*, also cite the literary example of Lazarillo de Tormes to emphasize their message that outward appearances are not always as they seem. In this famous Spanish tale (1554) Lazarillo uses his opulent Spanish wardrobe to trick a squire into believing that he is a wealthy knight, when he is in fact little more than a pauper.[31]

These types of Black Legend texts were blatant in their attack on Spaniards intending to launch an invective so flagrant that it could foster mistrust amongst even the most open-minded of readers. In some of the less subtle texts, or 'pestiferous bokes' aimed at the general populace rather than a noble audience, the criticism of Spaniards' purported trickery and false appearances was openly aggressive. William Lightfoot's *The Complaint of England* (1587), for instance, compared Spaniards to thistles, thorns, Sirens and crocodiles:

> Such are ye Spaniards, such are their fruites: fruites farre worse then the fruites of Sodome…these glorious in appearance, but being touched turne to poison…Are ye then to so foolish to looke for Grapes upon thornes, or Figges upon thistles? Doo ye take pleasure in the Sirenes song? Or pitie of the Crocodiles teares? Will ye follow the Hiaenas voice? Or dare ye swallow a Spanish bait?[32]

Between the years 1588-1596, too, three separate texts were published which overtly labelled Spaniards as 'liars' in their very titles. They put forth counter-arguments to certain military victories regaled and purportedly fabricated by Spaniards, including two anonymously-authored texts, *A Pack of Spanish Lies Sent Abroad* (1588) and *An Answer to the Untruths*

[29] Bradford, *The Copye of a Letter*, p.A7.
[30] Bradford, *The Copye of a Letter*, p.A8.
[31] Other Black Legend texts such as *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (1599), also took issue with the veracity of the Spaniards' faith, suggesting that even this too could be considered a 'performance': 'What with crowching, kneeling, and millions of crosses [in Church], he makes an exceeding good outward shewe'. See: Anon, *Pageant of Spanish Humours Wherin are naturally described and liuely portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a signior of Spaine. Translated out of Dutche, By H. W.* (London, 1599) in Early English Books Online, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/ [accessed online: 16/03/2017] < http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A12690.0001.001/1:1?firstpubl1=1470;firstpubl2=1700;rgn=div1;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=pageant+of+spanish+humours>
[32] W. Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England. Wherein it is clearely prooued that the practises of Traitrous Papists against the state of this Realme, and the person of her Maiestie, are in Diuinitie vnlawfull, odious in Nature, and ridiculous in pollicie…* (London, 1587), p.H2v.

Published and Printed in Spain (1589), as well as Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda's *A Libel of Spanish Lies* (1596).

As well as condemning the Spaniard's character, pictorially too, Black Legend authors and artists falsely represented the Spaniard. In visual descriptions, the stock image of the Spaniard was exaggerated to comedic and obscene effect, and emphasis was placed upon the 'blackness' of his appearance and the implied 'darkness' of his character. Black Legend texts and prints from the sixteenth century onwards, including the frontispiece to Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1582, fig.152) and James Wadsworth's *The present estate of Spayne* (1630), typically depict the Spaniard in black clothing, with black hair and, in some cases, black skin. Wadsworth, for instance, writes bemusedly, 'They desire much to be curiously apparelled in blacke'.[33] This stereotype undoubtedly had some foundation in contemporary understandings of what Spaniards looked like: eye-witness accounts from the sixteenth century, for example, often make mention of Spaniards' dark complexions.[34]

As Michael Duffy has found in his survey of later English satirical texts and prints, 'the Spaniard was invariably portrayed in late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century dress with feathered hat, slashed doublet and pantaloons or breeches, cloak and ruff, symbolising perhaps the traumatic Spanish menace of that period in English folk-memory'.[35] This apparel is not altogether dissimilar to the type of clothing that would have been worn by *most* European men during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; what is significant, however, is that Spaniards continued to be depicted in this clothing long after it ceased to be fashionable. In eighteenth-century satirical prints such as William Wells' *The Three Enemies of Brittain* (1781, fig.153) the 'villainy' of the Spaniard is inferred through his sixteenth-century dress. Together with his textbook curled moustache and pointed beard, the Spaniard maintained a demonic and

[33] In *The Character of Spain*, Spanish dress is also described as being close-fitting and restrictive: '…as to their habit and garb, they usually go close buttoned, nor will they unbutton though fire fall from heaven. Their Collar is very close, as if they intended that saying in the sacred Code, All things are bare neckt to God. He usually wears that upon his arms, which others do on their thighs, *viz*. long sleeves, and short breeches: besides, he wears his stockings so close and streight to his Leg, that you cannot take hold of them with a pair of pincers'. See: Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.18; J. Wadsworth, *The present estate of Spayne, or a true relation of some remarkable things touching the court, and gouernment of Spayne: with a catalogue of all the nobility, with their reuenues composed by Iames Wadsworth* (London, 1630), p.73.
[34] J. E. Paul, *Catherine of Aragon and Her Friends* (London, 1966), p.9.
[35] M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832* (London, 1986), p.26.

antiquated appearance in the later English imagination, his garb continuously reminding the viewer of the early origins of the Black Legend.

As well as appearing outwardly 'satanic' in his clothing, the Spaniard's purportedly 'hot-headed' personality was believed to correspond directly to Spain's warm climate and arid terrain. This connection between mind, body and landscape was established in early humoral theory, as popularised by Claudius Galen (b.129-d.200 AD), which promoted the belief that the body comprised four humours: blood (sanguine), phlegm (phlegmatic), yellow bile (choleric) and black bile (melancholic).[36] This humoral composition was affected by the climate and landscape, and an imbalance of each element was indicative of either an illness or a dominant personality trait.[37] In *The Character of Spain*, for instance, the Spaniard's lofty aspirations are conflated with his surrounding terrain: 'Pride, Haughtiness and Ambition, accompanied with an imaginary conceit of their own peculiar *Grandeza*, are the Ingredients that usually go to the composition of a Spaniard; so that it is hard to judge whether the Countrey, or the mindes of the Inhabitants are most aspiring and mountainous'.[38]

As Ribeiro also finds in Robert Vaughan's astrological engravings, *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in The Habits of Several Nations* (c.1620), the clement month of June and sign of Cancer are represented by an image of two Spaniards (fig.154). The Spanish gentleman is shown with his body turned suggestively towards his female companion, and footed by the caption, 'The year's now hot, and Phoebus chariot glowes / Which the hot fiery-spirited Spaniard shows. / Shelter ther needs: the Sun in Cancer is: / God graunt that we may well their canker misse'.[39] Whilst the image itself is not particularly flagrant, it is the text which appears most Hispanophic. By contrast, an English couple are chosen to represent Libra in the month of September, as emblematised by a set of weighing scales (fig.155). They are depicted in a well-balanced double portrait with their legs firmly astride and accompanied by the caption: 'Septembers temperate season here is showne / By the well temper'd English Nation: / Autumne now comes, pray God it not divine, / That as the yeare, so we begin decline'.[40]

[36] L. Ayoub, 'Old English waeta and the Medical Theory of the Humours', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 94:3 (1995), p.332.
[37] Ayoub, 'Old English waeta', p.332.
[38] Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.3.
[39] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.325.
[40] This caption matches a similar account by the Frenchman Guillaume Paradin who, in his *Anglicae Descriptionis Compendium* (1545) describes the positive effects of England's mild weather: 'The climate is so healthy that men

Vaughan's pairing of the individual's physical make-up with his or her geographical location is not unique to its time. This practice can also be found in maps, such as the aforementioned *Civitates Orbis Terrarvm*, and earlier costume books, such as Vecellio's *Degli Antichi et Moderni Habiti del Mondo* (1580) who describes Spaniards as being,

> …grave by nature, shrewd, and very thrifty, given to lust, sober in eating and moderate in drinking, of middle height and dry rather than otherwise in their bodily humors, satisfied with little food, and vainglorious in many matters. They dress in black more than in any other color. The Spaniard is astute, brave in warfare, and able to endure every sort of discomfort when necessary.[41]

Here, the physical is presented as indexical to the mental: that is, the bodily and humoral composition of the Spaniard is seen to dictate and control his personality and characteristics. If being more 'balanced' was considered a virtue, then Spaniards, by the very nature of their humoral composition, were believed to be plagued with vices.

These Spanish vices were expounded upon in the Black Legend texts and were intended to both amuse and horrify their readers. *A Pageant of Spanish Humours,* for instance, reads like a broadsheet of deadly and undesirable vices with the 'Signior of Spain' depicted in a series of increasingly unsavoury illustrations. In it, the Spaniard is described as being an 'Angel in the Church' making 'an exceeding good outward shewe' amongst members of the congregation, and 'to the contrary, in his lodging, he is a raging Diuel or Furie'. He is, furthermore, listed as being proud and 'wrapped and intangled in auarice', ambitious and perceiving his own 'learning and doctrine [to be] greater than any others', bloodthirsty, having 'at sundry times through his crueltie, without mercy, tyrannized and suppressed whole Countries & Kingdomes', greedy and ready for revenge, and faithless, to the extent that 'to effect and execute this his insatiable desire of reuenge…he abandoneth all faith'.[42] Amongst these many vices, the issue of the Spaniard's pride and bragging is one of the most commonly registered complaints in Black Legend texts. In *The Character of Spain*, for instance, the author describes

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often live for 120 years and that labourers never sweat'. See: Guillaume Paradin (1545) cited in Brenchley Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, p.xlvii.

[41] M. F. Rosenthal; A. R. Jones (eds.), *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni. The Clothing of the Renaissance World* (London, 2008), p.333.

[42] Anon, *Pageant of Spanish Humours*…in Early English Books Online, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/ [accessed online: 16/03/2017]
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A12690.0001.001/1:1?firstpubl1=1470;firstpubl2=1700;rgn=div1;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=pageant+of+spanish+humours

their pride as verging on lunacy and delusion: 'So horribly are they puft up with the timpany of pride, that they are the greatest enemies under the sun to their own preferment. Go into their *Casa de Locos*, or Bedlam, and you shall hear one cry, *I will be King*; another, *I am Emperor*; and a third, *I am Pope*'.[43] Their self-belief is such, he continues, that 'they judge no Nation fit to come in competition with them' and would rather maintain outward appearances of luxury, and 'cloath [themselves] in…despicable weeds', than admit to being impoverished or ignoble.[44] Robert Ashley's *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nations*, too, exclaims, 'The Spanish Nation…is vnfaithfull, rauenous and insatiable [they] surpasse all other Nations in the world in vaine and foolish bragging'.[45]

Correspondence exchanged between members of Elizabeth's court during this period also reveals that the Spaniard's pride was considered his least desirable of traits. In July 1588, on the eve of the Armada, Francis Walsingham wrote to the Lord Treasurer exclaiming that, between England and Spain, there could be 'Little Hope of a Peace till the Spanish Pride be brought down'.[46] Other members of Philip's court and sovereignty were also regarded with equal distaste, the Duke of Alba being described as 'that proud Spaniard Alva' and Don Juan of Austria (who later governed the Low Countries) receiving a damning appraisal by the hand of one anonymous courtier:

> The government of the Spaniards being so odious to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, they ought not to receive Don John on any account, as he has been brought up in the Spanish fashion. He is besides by blood illegitimate, young and inexperienced, and not worthy of the obedience of the nobility, nor of sufficient quality to negotiate with the neighbouring princes on affairs of state. He is besides arrogant and choleric, and has more crafty speech than judgment.[47]

Other Black Legend texts from this period also evidence a strong anti-Spanish flavour, citing the Spaniard's insolence, tyranny, greed, lust and envy as some of his more disturbing

[43] Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.9.
[44] Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.15.
[45] R. Ashley, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nations: Composed by a French Gentleman against those of the League in Fraunce, which went about to perswade the king to breake his alliance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine. By occasion whereof, the nature of both Nations is liuely deciphered. Faithfully translated, out of French, by R.A.* (London, 1589), p.F2.
[46] BL Harley 6994: 'Letter from Francis Walsingham to the Lord Treasurer regarding the Treaty for Peace with the Duke of Parma [18 July 1588]', f.126r.
[47] TNA SP 53/3: 'Letter from Knollys to William Cecil, Lord Burghley [17 Jan 1568-9]', f.14r.; TNA SP 70/141: 'Affairs of the Low Countries [1576]', f.147r.

characteristics. In *An experimentall discoverie of spanish practises or The counsell of a wellwishing souldier…*(1623), Thomas Scott references a number of unsavoury comments made about Spaniards so as to legitimise his Hispanophobic diatribe:

> The Spanish Nation are covetous and deceitfull, and where they bee at libertie, exceeding outrageous, tyrannous, and very proud and insolent. And Andrew…a famous Senatour of Venice, saith of them; That they are unfaithfull, ravenous, and the most unsatiable of all Nations: For where is it (saith hee) of all the parts of the world, where these infamous Harpies set their feete, which is not sefiled with the footsteps of most abominable vices; and yet the shot of their Pistols doe so dazell the eyes of many in this land'[48]

Edward Daunce too, in *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State* (1590), describes the lusting and envious nature of Spaniards as being 'a vice proper to men of base account'.[49] The Spaniards, he surmises, 'were filthie, lowsie, and enuious of the prosperitie of straungers'.[50] What is notable about these Black Legend texts, whether produced in the later sixteenth century or the first half of the seventeenth, is the authors' need to continuously reiterate – and in some cases repeat *ad verbatim* – previous lists of indictments held against Spaniards. Language and word-play is used here by Black Legend authors, I propose, as a propagandistic and rallying call to action. Linguistic repetition is also, as Homi K. Bhabha theorises, a means by which cultural stereotypes are traditionally formed in the minds of readers:

> Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism [...] connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always "in place", already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.[51]

[48] T. Scott, *An experimentall discoverie of spanish practises or The counsell of a wellwishing souldier, for the good of his Prince and State : Wherein is manifested from known experience, both the Cruelty, and Policy of the Spaniard, to effect his own ends* ... (London, 1623), p.31.
[49] E. Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State, vvith a Dialogue annexed intituled Philobasilis* (London, 1590), p.10.
[50] Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State*, p.10.
[51] H. K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon, 2004), pp.94-98.

Whilst many of the vices attributed to Spaniards were false, by 'anxiously repeating' these accusations, Black Legend authors moulded fact with fiction, thereby reifying the stock image of 'villainous' Spain as a very real and genuine threat to England and Europe.

It is worth noting that Spaniards were not the only targets of xenophobic type-casting, although the scale of Hispanophobic material published and circulated during this period greatly outweighed other xenophobic literature of the day. In several texts and eye-witness accounts, Englishmen too were described as being proud, 'mad and raving', and 'turbulent and barbarous', and in Vaughan's engravings, Italians were also depicted as lusting lotharios (fig.156).[52] We may find ourselves asking, then, why Hispanophobia carried more currency during this period than other forms of xenophobia, and why it continued to have such a long-lasting effect upon the English and European public imagination for centuries to come. What differentiates sixteenth-century Hispanophobia from other forms of name-calling and xenophobia, I propose, is its relation to a particular discursive and, distinctively racialized, strategy employed by Black Legend authors. In many of these texts, such as Daunce's *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State* (1590), Galen's humoral theory and the practice of relating Spaniards to their hot and 'exotic' climes, is furthered by a tendency to approximate Spain to its own Moorish and Jewish populace and more distant Visigoth and Vandal ancestors. By creating a stock image of a miscegenated Spaniard, these Black Legend authors portrayed Spain as essentially and racially different from its neighbouring European countries.[53]

Similar to the commentaries upon Spain's vices, these racial descriptions were numerous and repetitive. In Wadsworth's text, *The present estate of Spayne,* it was exclaimed that, 'nothing almost desired by them [the Spaniards] than a King of a blacke complexion. Their women are sober, and of a decent proportion, but of a swarthie complection'.[54] One anonymous travel text from the early seventeenth century also described Spain in racist terms as a 'semi-Morisco nation…sprung from the filth and slime of Africa, the base of Ottomans

[52] 'The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations / May' in British Museum Collection Online, www.britishmuseum.org [accessed online: 16/03/2017] <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3288979&partId=1&people=104427&peoA=104427-2-60&page=1>
[53] E. Weissbourd, 'Spain and the Rhetoric of Imperial Rivalry in Webster's The Duchess of Malfi', in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), p.220.
[54] Wadsworth, *The present estate of Spayne,* p.74.

and the rejected Jews'.[55] And *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nations* too, described Spaniards as being barbaric owing to their racial miscegenation:

> …the Moores made themselues masters of all Spaine, except Biscay and Austerlande...Since that time the Saracens haue been mingled farther amongst them…the Gothes, the Vandales, the Moores, the Saracens, haue ruled ouer Spaine. Therefore if of good right the Gothes and Vandales, are counted cruell, the Moores perfidious and reuengefull, the Saracens proud, and villainous in their manner of liuing. I pray you what humanitie, what faith, what courtesie, what modestie, and ciuilitie, may we thinke to finde amongest this scumme of Barbarians?[56]

For Griffin, this Othering of Spain was an essential component in the ideation of an English national identity as it helped to establish an 'us' versus 'them' ethos internally within Europe: 'The anti-Spanish discourse… which "ethnopoetically" made or marked Iberians as essentially "other" – was far more pervasive in early modern English public culture, and more important to England's emerging sense of nationhood, than we have tended to recognize'.[57] Describing the racialized tone of Hispanophobic print material, which makes frequent reference to the 'blackness' of Spaniards (consider, the Black House and Black Knight in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, 1624) Griffin defines the Black Legend specifically as 'a discourse of color'.[58] However, for scholars Samson, Campos, Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, the essentialist nature of the Black Legend goes further than a commentary on skin colour. As Samson puts it, 'demarcations based on complexion…were intertwined and entangled with dress, nation and religion'.[59] Indeed, religion, clothing and behaviours were all perceived to be cultural traits that could be used and abused by Black Legend authors to concretize cultural stereotypes.

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[55] Bodleian MS Perrot 5: 'A Direction for a Travailer', f.23r.; A. Samson, 'The colour of the country: English travellers in Spain, 1604-1625', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13:2 (2009), p.118.

[56] A similar sentiment is echoed in Edward Daunce's *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State* which explains how, 'The great antiquarie and historian Antonio di Gueuarra, in his epistle to Don Alphonso of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, affirmeth that the Mores in eight moneths conquered Spaine to the rocke Horadada, and that the Spaniards were eight hundred years before they recouered that losse: during which time, we must not thinke that the Negros sent for women out of Aphrick, or that the Spaniards were in those dayes very martiall'. See: Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State*, p.D2.

[57] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.2.

[58] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.8; K. F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), p.7.

[59] Samson, 'The colour of the country', p.118; J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, Vol.I (Boston/New York, 1907), p.205.

Taking into consideration the religious issue, the conversion of Jews in 1492, and the expulsion of Moors from Spain in 1609 were two events which marred Spain's international reputation and contributed to an already burgeoning list of indictments held against the Spanish Catholic authorities. Campos describes this period of religious intolerance as a time when Spanish Catholics aspired to *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) and sought to 'trace their ancestry to Old Christian stock rather than to the bloodlines of recent [Jewish or Moorish] converts'.[60] As Greer, Mignolo and Quilligan have also found, this was a period when 'race' was defined not solely in terms of skin colour, but of religious lineage.[61] In Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco's Spanish dictionary (*Tesoro de lengua castellana o española*, 1611), for instance, the word *raza* (race) signified that one was of Jewish or Moorish descent.[62] By describing Spaniards in the very terms that they themselves used to marginalise portions of their own populace, England targeted Spain, Mignolo argues, 'in the same way that the Spaniards' targets were the Moors, Jews, Indians, and blacks. In other words, the Black Legend is a racial [and religious] discourse internal to Europe'.[63] Emily Weissbourd also concurs that this discourse sought to ridicule Spaniards by 'exposing' their hypocrisy 'as simultaneously excessively proud of their lineages and themselves of impure blood, the miscegenated offspring of Moors and Jews'.[64] Suggestions of racial miscegenation also, therefore, had the effect of belittling what was otherwise perceived by neighbouring Protestant nations as a dominant Catholic country. Towards the end of the century, the threat of a Spanish naval invasion and the increase in Catholic recusancy caused Protestant pamphleteers to equate all things 'Spanish' with popery, and anti-Spanish sentiment in England grew as a result of a public anxiety towards a possible re-Catholicization of the realm. By depicting Spaniards as the descendants of Moors or Jews (i.e., 'not wholly Catholic') Black Legend authors could depreciate their rivals as mere 'heretics'.

It is worth lingering here also on Orozco's second definition of *raza* as signifying a breed of thoroughbred horse as, in many Black Legend texts, references to Spaniards go hand-

[60] See Chapter One for a further discussion of Spanish national identity. See also, Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portingales', p.602.
[61] M. R. Greer; W. D. Mignolo; M. Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago, 2007), pp.9-10.
[62] According to Walter Mignolo, '"Race" in the Covarrubias quotation is synonymous with "blood" and implies "religion" – that is, the wrong religion'. See: Greer; Mignolo; Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading the Black Legend*, p.12; 317.
[63] W. D. Mignolo, 'Afterword: What Does the Black Legend Have to Do with Race?' in M. R. Greer; W. D. Mignolo; M. Quilligan (eds.), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago, 2007), pp.319-320.
[64] Weissbourd, 'Spain and the Rhetoric of Imperial Rivalry', p.221.

in-hand with descriptions of animalistic or savage behaviours. Playing on the theme of racial miscegenation, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State* compares the Spaniard's ethnicity to bestial hybridity, arguing that his racial 'mixing' engenders barbarity:

> …those beasts which are engendred of sundrie kinds, are most cruell. If a lion match with a Parde, there remaineth in the issue some generositie of the parent: but if the Leopard couple himself with a Tiger, nothing is to be looked for in their broode, but a barbarous fiercenesse. The natural Spaniard, being as a simple, is of a confuse and beastly conceipt, of diet miserable and furious, nourished to increase those humours in scarcitie: but mixed with the Gothes and Vandals, giuen to theeuery and drunkenness: minkled with the Mores cruell and full of trecherie: and consequently, tasting of euerie one, a spring of all filthinesse.[65]

In a similar sentiment to *The Character of Spain,* which claims that the Portuguese (who were annexed to Spain in 1580) 'scarce make any difference between men and beast', *A Brief Discourse* also describes Spaniards as being 'more daungerous than wilde beasts'.[66] This invective is mirrored in a number of other texts which compare 'Spanish' traits to animalistic qualities. *An Experimental Discoverie of Spanish Practises*, for instance, claims that the Spanish 'are loathsome Swine, theevish Owles, and bragging Peacocks', and *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nations* suggests that the Spaniard comprises the qualities of 'a craftie Foxe, a rauenous Wolfe, and a raging Tygre'.[67]

One of the more prevalent animalistic depictions in these texts, however, is the representation of Spain as a sea monster. By comparing Spaniards to either real or fantastical sea creatures, these authors were able to reflect the very real concern amongst Europeans and Englishmen about Spain's uncomfortably close naval presence. Both prior to, and shortly after the Armada, Spain is anxiously described as an offshore threat. In his text *A briefe relation, of*

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[65] Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State*, p.36.
[66] Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.78; Daunce, *A Brief Discourse of the Spanish State*, p.14.
[67] The aforementioned *Pageant of Humours* also compares the Spaniard to seven different animals: the Spanish 'signior' is described as a greedy and ill-mannered 'Woolfe at [the] Table'; a 'filthie', 'pocky' and venereal-diseased 'Hogge in his Chamber'; a proud and strutting 'Peacocke in the streete'; a lusting 'Foxe to deceiue Women'; 'a Lyon in a place of Garrison'; 'a Hare in a besieged place' and finally, 'a lambe vnder the Gallowes'. See: Anon, *Pageant of Spanish Humours…* in Early English Books Online, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/ [accessed online: 16/03/2017] <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A12690.0001.001/1:1?firstpubl1=1470;firstpubl2=1700;rgn=div1;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=pageant+of+spanish+humours>; Scott, *An experimentall discoverie of spanish* practises, p.31; Ashley, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish* Nations, p.D3.

what is happened since the last of August 1598 by coming of the Spanish campe into the Dukedome of Cleve and the bordering free Countries (1599), for instance, the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II 'recalls' a devastating event in which a whale is stranded on the shores of Holland. It becomes increasingly clear, however, when reading Rudolf's description of the beached whale 'who seeketh nothing else but through fire and sworde, to destroy these excellent countries', that this tale is nothing more than an elaborate metaphor for the Spaniard's cruelty in the Low Countries:

> …for when that in the yeere 1598, the Sea had vomited a mightie Whale on our shore at Berckhey, who in euery ones sight was horrible to beholde…hoping that God ere long, would shew that he had not caused that Whale to strande in Holland, as a token that he ment to reduce these Netherlands vnder the yoake of that cruell monster, who seeketh nothing else but through fire and sworde, to destroy these excellent countries, he is like a Whale, who whatsoeuer he catcheth in his chops, he swalloweth, teareth, and deuoureth without mercie, for I haue hoped always that God would make the Spanish tyrant starue for hunger, like the Whale did after two dayes and three nights…[68]

Departing from the tale momentarily, Rudolf launches an invective against the monstrous qualities of the Spaniard whose presence in the Low Countries, like that of the whale, is an unwelcome arrival. The promises, he argues, 'which the Spaniarde maketh vs [for peace and prosperity], are vaine and of no worth. It is stinke, it is filth, burning and murthering which stickes in his heart, and herewith his minde is stuffed & ouffed vp like the bellie of the whale, with filthie infection'.[69]

Spanish Calumnies and Political Conflict

These stock representations, and anthropomorphic imaginings, painted Spaniards in a negative light to allow Englishmen and Europeans to legitimize their own demonization of the nation. The more barbaric and animalistic Spaniards appeared to their neighbours, the easier it was to castigate them for their cruelty. This is not to downplay the very real and destructive consequences of Spanish imperialism in Europe and America, however, but to highlight the

[68] Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, *A briefe relation, of what is happened since the last of August 1598 by coming of the Spanish campe into the Dukedome of Cleve and the bordering free Countries, which with most odious and barbarous cruelty they take as enemies for the service of God and the King of Spaine...* (London, 1599), pp.6-7.
[69] Rudolf, *A briefe relation…*, pp.6-7.

underlying Hispanophobia which infiltrated much printed material. Indeed, anti-Spanish sentiment, Goldman argues, was 'coloured by the litany of supposed Spanish calumnies popularized in England and the Low Countries' through propagandistic pamphlets, ballads and treatises.[70] It is worth, therefore, straying momentarily from my discussion of the Spaniard's stock representation, to elucidate upon some of these political and religious 'calumnies'. Early modern Hispanophobia was fuelled by both domestic economic disruption and social unease in England, as Bich Luu outlines, but also, importantly, by political and religious warfare overseas. As scape-goats for these troubles, Spaniards were seen as culpable for the military atrocities committed off the shores of England and in the Low Countries and the Americas. What is significant about much of this Black Legend literature is its very European nature: responses to Spain came largely from Protestant English and Dutch pamphleteers, but also from Italian and French writers who wrote at length about Spanish cruelty.

Schmidt and Samson cite a number of political events in Europe which gave rise to the Black Legend discourse, beginning with Mary and Philip's polemical union in 1554, discussed in Chapter Three, and the reports of Inquisitional cruelty towards non-Catholics, including European merchants trading in Spain. By the end of the century, the Inquisition had gained a reputation for violent practices.[71] Further afield in Italy, there was a general discontent amongst civilians residing under Spanish sovereignty – or 'tyranny' as they would have it – in Naples and Milan. The anonymously penned, *The Complaint of England*, for instance, speaks of the Spaniards' trickery in Italy: 'the Spaniards at their first coming shewed themselves most pliable in their behauiours, promising golden moutaines, & vowing all seruice to the Neapolitanes for the defence of their coutry & continuance of their freedoms. And thus by cloked amity they crept into credit'.[72] Amongst the French, too, there was uproar following the *affaire Floride* in the 1560s, which saw a group of Huguenots massacred by Spanish troops in St Augustine, Florida, and later, during the 1580s, there emerged fears that the Spanish Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia might claim the French throne and 'Hispanicise' the country. Texts such as *The*

[70] W. Goldman, 'Viewing Spain through Darkened Eyes: Anti-Spanish Rhetoric and Charles Cornwallis's Mission to Spain, 1605-1609' in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp.257-258.
[71] In *A Fig for a Spaniard*, for example, the Holy Fathers of the Inquisition are described as 'deuils, Doctors…that like bloudy butchers, continually thirst after bloud'. And, in *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard* (translated into English from the French in 1590), too, the 'barbarous Inquisition' is accused of making innocent men 'rotte in prison' under the 'false pretence of Religion'. See: Anon, *A Fig for a Spaniard*, p.B3v; A. Arnauld, *The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard made at Paris by a French man, a Catholique. Wherein is directly proued how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France. Translated out of French into English* (London, 1590), p.28.
[72] Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England*, p.G3.

Spaniards Monarchie, and Leagvers Olygarchie… (1592) voiced concerns that France should become annexed to Spain: 'being drunke with the greatnesse of this happy successe, he [the Spaniard] began to plot higher attempts of his spirit, as ambition neuer wanteth matter, proposing France for the marke of his other enterprises'.[73]

In spite of this myriad of European voices, it is worth noting that many scholars, including Maltby, whose seminal text provides a backbone to the study of anti-Spanish pamphlets, cite a *Spanish* text as being one of the earliest 'Black Legend' treatises. Bartolomé de las Casas' *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1578), which recalled the brutal murder of innocent natives at the hands of Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, was intended as a call to fellow Spaniards to up-end the tyranny of the authorities in the New World.[74] It quickly became a figurehead of the Black Legend, however, with its themes appropriated to form the stock image of the 'cruel' and 'greedy' Spaniard. The *Brevísima relación* also inspired and mirrored a number of later Black Legend pamphlets, travel texts and treatises on the New World which exhibited a strong dose of Hispanophobia. These included the Italian Girolamo Benzoni's *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1565) and the Dutch Theodore de Bry's famously dark engravings of murderous Spaniards in his *America* anthology (1596).[75]

From the 1570s onwards, the production of Black Legend texts gathered momentum in Europe, spurred on by the Dutch Protestant rebels in the Netherlands who were embroiled in a bloody war for emancipation from the Spanish. The so-called 'Spanish troops', led by the much-hated Duke of Alba, in fact comprised various groups of European mercenaries and were responsible for pillaging multiple cities throughout the Low Countries (most famously sacking

[73] B. Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge, 2001), p.92; Anon, *The Spaniards Monarchie, and Leagvers Olygarchie, and Leagvers Olygarchie…* (London, 1592), p.A5.
[74] W. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C, 1971), p.12.
[75] These texts on the New World also encompassed works such as *The Character of Spain* which claimed that the Spaniards' 'cruelty in the Indian Conquest…was so inhuman, that the relation thereof would stagger the belief of a Christian' for they 'made a sport and recreation of their inhumanity and barbarism' by setting dogs on men and women. The text continues on to suggest that the Spaniards' cruelty and pillaging of the New World was in vain for, 'whether they were the first Discoverers or no; it is observ'd, that those vast treasures she transports thence thrive little, by reason of that ocean of human (though savage) blood the Spaniard spilt there; never did any nation phlebotomize an enemy so inhumanely as they did, in so much that it is affirmed by some, (and that groundedly too) that the blood they spilt would over-poise all the gold they ever fetcht from thence'. *The Complaint of England* too describes the disastrous effects of the Spanish imperial presence in the New World, claiming that 'Within the space of forty years, they as in a comon butchery slaughtered of innocent lambs, aboue twelue millions, men, women, & children'. See: Anon, *The Character of Spain*, pp.35; 38; Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England*, p.G5.

Antwerp in 1576) in what was known as the 'Spanish Fury'.[76] Antwerp's destruction at the hands of Alba's troops was, according to *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*, an event which saw one 'of the fairest, ritchest, and most flourishing cittyes of Europe…brought to be the most delolate, spoiled, and desert citty of Christendome'.[77] Alba, too, in *The Character of Spain*, was nicknamed '*The Spunge of the Belgian Blood;* for he made it his boast, and a kinde of sportive recreation to be heard often saying, That he had dispatch't to the other world above eighteen thousand Belgians by Fire, Water, the Rack, the Sword, and the Ax'.[78]

Despite their diverse ethnic backgrounds, Alba's troops were 'Hispanised' by Dutch rebels and pamphleteers, Schmidt argues, in a propagandistic ploy to legitimise their religious cause: 'By aiming their invective at a unified target – the "Spanish" army, "Spanish" Inquisition, "Spanish" tyranny in America – rebels sought to unify the disparate factions of their opposition. By articulating a single and easily identifiable enemy, the pamphleteers hoped to promulgate a single and easily justifiable "Dutch" revolt'.[79] England's involvement too, in the Low Countries caused a rift in what was once a peaceable Anglo-Spanish alliance. In her *Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England to giue aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries*, Elizabeth expounded a list of reasons as to why she felt obliged to provide aid to the Protestant rebels, speaking of her repeated warnings to Philip that he should refrain from causing unrest in the Low Countries:

> …as a good louing sister to him, and a natural good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, wee haue often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if hee did not otherwise by his wisedome and princely clemencie restraine the tyranny of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, wee feared that the people of his countries shoulde bee forced for safetie of their liues,

[76] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p.86.
[77] Arnauld also describes how the Spaniards were responsible for the, 'wast full burning of thy houses, theyr detestable ransacking and pillage of those great treasures,…theyr lustfull and inhumaine deflouring of thy matrones, wiues, and daughters, theyr matchlesse and sodomiticall rauishinge of young boyes'. See: Arnauld, *The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*, p.27.
[78] In *A Discourse of the usage of the English Fugitives by Spaniard*, too, the 'tyrannical gouernment of the Spanish tyrant' Alba, was said to be responsible for reducing the inhabitants of the Low Countries to 'vnspeakable bondage, slauerie, and desolate despaire'. The author describes the affairs in the Low Countries as follows, '…whereas since it hath ben made manifest to the world that these wars and iniuries offered by the king of *Spaine* to those of the Low countries, whose laws, customs and priuiledges he hath most violently, tyranously, wrongfully and periuredly broken, whereby hee hath freed them from his subiection, yoake, and tyranie'. See: Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.42; Anon, *A Discourse of the usage of the English Fugitives by the Spaniard* (London, 1595), p.K2v.
[79] Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, p.85.

> and for continuance of their natiue countrie in their former state of their libertes, to seeke the protection of some other forreyne Lord.[80]

Elizabeth omitted from the pamphlet her very real anxiety that Spanish troops should be stationed at such an uncomfortably close distance from English shores, ready and waiting to Catholicise England as it had done the Netherlands.

By the 1580s, the conflict between Spain and her European neighbours reached a boiling point: in 1580, William I of Orange, the head of the Dutch Protestant rebellion, was outlawed by Philip II; a year later William penned his damning *Apologie or Defense of William of Orange against The ban or edict of the king of Spain* in which he denounced Philip as 'the lawful sovereign of the Netherlands' and accused all Spaniards as having an inherently 'perverse, natural disposition, and tyrannous affection and will', and three years later, in 1584, William was assassinated, presumably by Spaniards.[81] The impact of William's *Apologie* was such that, following its publication and his murder, a scourge of Black Legend propaganda was written and translated in the Low Countries and further afield. For Griffin, the Dutch Revolt and later Armada were two historical and political events which truly amplified the Black Legend discourse allowed it to assume a distinctly Protestant angle,

> 'Although it is true that occasional expressions of anti-Spanish sentiment can be heard in the discourses of earlier decades, the number of publications bearing imprints from the 1580s and 1590s suggests that by the late sixteenth century Black Legend typologies were becoming so thoroughly codified that Protestant nationalists could deploy them as a virtual Hispanophobic catechism.'[82]

Indeed, the number of Protestant anti-Spanish pamphlets penned prior to and during the Armada in England was vast, with English authors warning readers of Spanish popery and cruelty, and providing guidance on how to prepare for a potential naval attack and re-Catholicization of the realm. A number of 'Armada prayers' and psalms were published during this period that illustrate how printed propaganda had begun to enter the realms of public and

[80] *A Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England to give aid to the Defence of the People…of the Lowe Countries* (London, 1585), p.B2v.
[81] According to Schmidt, 'Toward all of these ends, Willem included a summa of anti-Spanish slander and a vicious assault on Philip II designed to convince his readers of the legality as well as necessity of the Dutch Revolt'. See: Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, pp.85-87; Samson, 'The colour of the country', p.113; *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange Against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine (An Apologie or Defence, of my Lord the Prince of Orange)* H. Wasink (ed.) (Leiden, 1969), p.53.
[82] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.17.

private devotion. Lengthier texts such as Christopher Stiles' *Psalmers of Invocation upon God, to preserve her Majestie & the people of this lande, from the power of our enemies* (1588) and John Carpenter's *Time Complaining, giveth a most godly admonition, and very profitable Instruction to England in this our dangerous Tyme* (1588) were two such texts that were possibly read in private or circulated amongst acquaintances. Prayers such as Henry Roberts' brief, *A prayer for assistance against the Armada* (1588), however, were more likely to have been recited in a public sermon, or memorised by heart. Roberts' patriotic and anti-Spanish invective of, 'let not furious stormes, windes, or tempests hurte them, no surging Seas harme them, let not Papistes amaze them, nor forraine enemies feare them', would have been used to offer comfort to an anxious congregation in times of trouble.

Despite the Spaniards' defeat, the English unease towards their naval rivals persevered well into the seventeenth century. The author of *A Fig for a Spaniard,* for instance, warned that should the Spaniard attempt to conquer England, 'hee will finde fiue hundred times more cause to rince and ransake our citties [that other cities], to pill and pole our country, to murther and massacre our people, then theirs. For…wee alwaies (as he counteth) [have been] sworne enemies'.[83] In many texts, Black Legend authors launched repeated attacks on Spain's religiosity, either through their descriptions of the Spaniard's 'outward shewe' at Church and the fallacy of his Christian lineage or, conversely, through their heated discussions of his 'popery'. These depictions of the Spaniard appear polarised; however, they served a single purpose: to paint the Spaniard as England's heretical enemy, wholly irreligious or devoutly Catholic. Whilst these earlier texts used religious fear-mongering to incite mistrust and Hispanophobia amongst their readers, we can see a shift in the tone and style of later seventeenth-century Black Legend literature which recalls the Armada with a strong dose of patriotism and pride. In *The Character of Spain*, for instance, Philip is described as having 'rigg'd that numerous Fleet against our Land, with an absolute intent to ruinate us, [and been] repuls'd by the valor of the English'.[84] It is this more light-hearted and derogatory tone which came to characterise the performative and visual representations of Spaniards in years to come.

[83] In *A Discourse of the usage of the English Fugitives by the Spaniard,* too, the reader is asked whether, 'you seeke to see your Countrie bathing in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friendes, to see your cities, temples, and auncient monuments flaming in the fire, to see your virgines defloured, and further, to bring the noblest nations to perpetuall slauerie and seruitude' by a nation that 'not yet fully an hundred yeeres since wholie they receiued Christianitie'. See: Anon, *A Fig for a Spaniard*, p.C3; Anon, *Usage of the English Fugitives*, p.E3v.
[84] Anon, *The Character of Spain*, p.56.

Staging 'Spain': Satirical Caricatures of Spain on Stage, Street and Canvas

The visual manifestations that accompanied these Black Legend texts enjoyed a wide reception amongst European consumers of anti-Spanish propaganda. These images were littered with comedic caricatures of Spaniards in which their exaggerated ensemble of ruff, cloak and hose was intended to pass commentary on the wearer's vanity and pride. They were closely tied to satire, a literary and visual genre defined by Dustin Griffin as follows:

> Satire is a highly rhetorical and moral art. A work of satire is designed to attack vice or folly. To this end it uses wit or ridicule. Like polemical rhetoric, it seeks to persuade an audience that something or someone is reprehensible or ridiculous; unlike pure rhetoric, it engages in exaggeration and some sort of fiction. But satire does not forsake the "real world" entirely. Its victims come from that world, and it is this fact (together with a darker or sharper tone) that separates satire from pure comedy.[85]

These satirical caricatures also made their way off of the pages of Black Legend texts and into the theatrical and social realm of courtly masques, plays, and street pageants such as the annual Lord Mayor's show. This translation from the visual and textual ether into the physical and material world of costumes and stage productions, I argue, saw Spanish fashions assume a distinctly comical edge as they were no longer worn solely as stylish everyday wear, but fashioned for actors and masque performers. Acts of cross-cultural dressing, in which Englishmen adopted Spanish clothing as a form of theatrical playacting on the stage and street, became an important feature in the construction of the Spanish caricature. As well as shedding light upon the formation of cultural stereotypes, therefore, I argue that these visual and theatrical representations of Spaniards and their fashions also illustrate how the larger discourse of Hispanophobia in England and Europe contributed towards the declining popularity of Spanish fashions and their gradual eclipse by French fashions at the start of seventeenth century.

Visual Caricatures

Ersnt Gombrich and Ernst Kris define the portrait-caricature as being 'the comic distortion of the individual' in which the artist transforms the image of 'the whole man into a

[85] D. H. Griffin, Satire: A Critical Reintroduction (Kentucky, 1994), p.1.

completely new and ridiculous figure which nevertheless resembles the original in a striking and surprising way.'[86] This definition is closely tied to Griffin's notion that satire is an exaggerated representation of true reality. The Italian artist Agostino Carracci gave form to both the term *caricatura* and the grotesque and exaggerated human physiognomy which characterised this style of art in the seventeenth century.[87] His caricatures of 'ugly' men and women present individuals with deformed and exaggerated facial features (fig.157). Whilst the caricature of the Spaniard can be clearly located in mid- to late-seventeenth century satirical prints, earlier manifestations of this comical figure are more difficult to find. Early sixteenth-century versions of the Spanish caricature resemble more closely what Gombrich and Kris term comical or satanical 'emblems'. 'Emblems' were typically used in medieval plays to symbolise a terrifying and maniacal fool or Devil figure (consider, *The Laughing Jester*, fig.158) or to moralise against sinful characters.[88]

A number of German, Dutch and French prints from the period locate acts of Satanism within specific items of clothing such as large ruffs which Spaniards were so commonly known to wear. Images of the 'demonic' ruff are plentiful: Matthias Quad's *Der Kragen Setzer* (*The Ruff Setter*, fig.159), for instance, depicts a team of three winged devils, including a Pan figure, preparing a set of ruffs and stoking a fire to heat their setting tongs. This motif is repeated again, to more elaborate effect, in Hieronymous Nützel's engraving *Hierbey Soll man spurn vnd Mercken: Wie der Teuffell Thutt die Hoffardt Sterckenn* (*By this one sees and notes how the Devil strengthens Pride*, fig.160) in which the principal devil is presented as a conflation of the bespectacled jester trope (fig.158) and the caricatured 'ugly' man (fig.157). These ideas are taken to the extreme in figure 161 where two devils are shown presenting a pair of shoppers with a ruff emblazoned with a skull, and also in Jan Saenredam's *Marriage for Wealth Officiated by the Devil* (fig.162) in which a wealthy couple, bedecked in their wide ruffs, are depicted sealing their marriage vows under the oath of the Devil. This practice of isolating the ruff as the source of man's pride and vanity, proved to be a popular means by which to hint at the 'dark underbelly' of the wearer. In some literary sources, the circular form of the ruff often associated with the Spaniard and his imperial pursuits; its rounded shape believed to reference

[86] E. H. Gombrich; E. Kris, *Caricature* (Middlesex, 1940), p.12.
[87] Gombrich; Kris, *Caricature*, pp.10-11.
[88] This marriage between horror and humour, Gombrich and Kris explain, is remarkably common in early forms of caricature as the 'uncanny and comic…are, in fact, more nearly related than we might have suspected'. See: Gombrich; Kris, *Caricature*, pp.6-7.

the globe and the Spaniard's worldwide dominions. As Ribeiro has found, poet John Taylor (c.1624) likened the Spaniard's use of the ruff to his desired colonisation of the globe:

> A Spaniards Ruffe in folio, large and wide
> Is th' abstract of ambitious boundless pride.
> For roundnesse' tis the Embleme, as you see
> Of the terrestriall Globes rotunditie,
> And all the world is like a Ruffe to Spain.[89]

In contemporary prints, the circular ruff and the devil are often brought together with images of spherical mirrors and vain fools, thus illustrating the ruff's connection to the vices of vanity and pride. In his *Emblemata Secularia*, for instance, the Hispanophobic Theodore de Bry depicts a monkey dressed in a ruff and admiring his reflection in a round mirror (fig.163). In in a later engraving this same monkey is replaced with a caricatured 'ugly' man (fig.164) whose facial features resemble the principal devil in figure 160. Another print entitled *Quid si sic?* (fig.165), taken from the emblem book *Delights for the ingenious, in above fifty select and choice emblems, divine and moral, ancient and modern…*(1684), these motifs are conflated to present a caricatured Spaniard looking upon his ruff in a mirror, accompanied by the following inscription:

> Though he endeavour all he can,
> An Ape will never be a man.
> What though an Apish-Pigmy, in attire,
> His Dwarfish Body Gyant-like, array?
> Turn Brave, & get him Stilts to seem the higher?
> What would so doing, handsome him I pray?
> Now, surely, such a Mimick sight as that,
> Would with excessive Laughter move your Spleen,
> Till you had made the little Dandiprat,
> To lye within some Auger-hole, unseen.[90]

Given the circulation of such printed emblem books during this period, and the similarity in motifs between these three images, it seems plausible that there existed a popular trend for associating the ruff with the symbolic looking-glass and the foolish, ape-like figure, oftentimes the Spaniard. Significantly, these images illustrate how early forms of caricature were still very much rooted in ideas of anthropomorphism as explored by artists Leonardo da Vinci and

[89] John Taylor (1630) cited in Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.330.
[90] R. B, *Delights for the ingenious, in above fifty select and choice emblems, divine and moral, ancient and modern…*(London, 1684) in Early English Books Online, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/ [accessed online: 16/03/2017] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eebo;idno=A35217.0001.001

Giovanni Battista della Porta (fig.166), with the caricature of the Spaniard, in particular, evolving from earlier representations of monkeys and apish men.

Crude and comically distorted images of individuals were repurposed in anti-Catholic broadsides and pamphlets to appeal, Kris and Gombrich argue, to an 'even more primitive strata in the human mentality [which was] content to pillory the opponent by showing him hanging on the gallows'.[91] In Black Legend pamphlets too, the Spaniard's clothing became a vital component in the early construction of his caricature, as his image needed to be quickly reproduced and disseminated in response to contemporary political events.[92] Clothing and facial hair, I propose, became a visual shorthand to allow readers to identify 'the Spaniard'. The stock image of this 'Spaniard' emerged, therefore, out of a need to act fast to keep up with a rapidly changing political landscape as the Dutch-Spanish war raged on in the Netherlands and England felt increasingly threatened by Spain. As previously discussed, the Spaniard was oftentimes reduced to a standard set of characteristics and clothing habits. In applying the same essentialist tactics visually, therefore, the engraver and printmaker turned their hand to representing 'the Spaniard' through a limited yet distinctive wardrobe of ruff, cloak, hat, hose and facial hair which could communicate the Spaniard's identity without the need of text. This technique paralleled contemporary dramatic practices whereby the provenance of stage characters was distinguished through their clothing alone. In her study of seventeenth-century anti-Spanish theatre, for instance, Ribeiro references Leoni de' Sommi's *Quattro Dialoghi* (c.1565) which claims that stage characters must be recognizable in attire, 'as soon as anyone sees them…without having to wait to declare themselves'.[93] Off stage, nations could be imagined through clothing on canvas too. Two paintings created in the 1580s for an elite audience and entitled *The Dairy Cow* (figs.167-168) and *Queen Elizabeth I Feeds the Dutch Cow* testify to an increased interest in using clothing to symbolise nations and contemporary

[91] As Gombrich and Kris explain, portrait caricature did not emerge fully until the seventeenth century '…because of the dire power it was felt to possess; out of unconscious fear of its effect. Before caricature as an art could be born, mankind had to become mentally free enough to accept this distortion of an image as an artistic achievement and not as a dangerous practice. And in addition the artist had to learn, as he only began to do at the end of the Italian Renaissance, that he was not nature's servant but her master, that in painting an individual he was under no necessity to produce an exact likeness, but was fee to express his personal vision of the sitter's essential characteristics'. See: Gombrich; Kris, *Caricature*, pp.6-9.

[92] Early news reporting during this period involved the printing of pamphlets and broadsides, comprising one or two folios, which often reported on a single event and could be manufactured quickly and easily so as to be distributed to as wide an audience as possible. See: C. Hill; J. Raymond (eds.), *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (Gloucestershire, 1993), pp.1-3.

[93] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.329.

political events: both images represent the state of affairs surrounding the Eighty Years' War in the Netherlands. In the former, the dairy cow is headed by a caption which reads:

> Not longe time since I sawe a cowe
> Did Flaunders represente
> Upon whose backe King Philup rode
> As being malecontnt.
>
> The Queene of England giving hay
> Wheareon the cow did feede,
> As one that was her greatest helpe
> In her distresse and neede.
>
> The Prince of Orange milkt the cowe
> And made his purse the payle.
> The cow did shyt in Monsieur's hand
> While he did hold her tayle.[94]

In the latter image, despite the lack of caption, we can still identify the same figures: the black-garbed Philip II is shown sat atop the straining cow, in an allusion to the oppressive rule of the Spanish in the Netherlands; Elizabeth is depicted nourishing the animal with hay, in reference to the funds she directed to the rebels; William of Orange is presented milking the cow dry, having pitted his army against the Duke of Alba's troops; and finally, the Duke of Anjou is shown stood by the cow's tail, in a reference to his army having been decimated in Antwerp in 1583.

More common than the *Dutch Cows* series, were the broadsides and pamphlets produced for the general public. The broadside, *Popish Plots and Treasons* by Cornelis Danckerts (fig.169) was published in 1678 and recalled fourteen separate incidents in which Catholic noblemen had attempted to overthrow or assassinate the monarch. Of these scenes, six related specifically to Spanish plots, including: the 'treacherous practise of Don Jo[hn] of Aust[ria]'; Sir Thomas 'Stucely encouraged by P[hilip] of Sp[ain] rayseth rebell[ion]; 'The Spa[nish] Embas[sador] [Bernardino Mendoza] thrust out of England'; 'The Invincible Armado'; Elizabeth's Portuguese physician Rodrigo 'Lopas compounding to poison the Queene'; and 'The Powder Plot', more commonly known as the Gunpowder Plot in which the Catholic Englishman Guy Fawkes sought Spanish support to assassinate James I. In these scenes, the Spaniard is clearly identifiable to readers through his exaggerated ruff and long

[94] See figure 167.

cloak. Stylistically, this broadside parallels the illustrations appended to the aforementioned pamphlet, *A Pageant of Spanish Humours* (fig.170), which employs a similar set of visual descriptions to represent the Spanish subject's vices. Whilst more comical in its portrayal, the *Pageant* still depicts the Spaniard using the same visual cues (large ruff, tight-bodied clothing known as *in cuerpo*, voluminous breeches, and cloak and hat) in a series of unflattering positions: in one scene the Spaniard sits alongside a hog, defecating in his bedchamber; in another, he walks streets with his chest proudly puffed out, followed by a peacock.[95]

A number of images also exist which responded to political events yet were directed solely towards an elite audience. The Dutch engraver, Theodore de Bry published his *America* anthology from 1590-1634 as a reaction against the reported cruelty of the Spaniards in the New World. According to Henry Keazor, de Bry's engravings provided 'a visual pendant to the [hugely popular] texts of Bartolomé de Las Casas', whose *Brevísima relación* de Bry later illustrated in 1598.[96] De Bry's 'fire and brimstone' approach to the subject of Spanish tyranny is perhaps more in keeping with the tone of some of the earlier pamphlets mentioned here, and provides a commentary upon the inherent cruelty and misplaced power of the Spanish nobility. In his *Massacre of Indians* (fig.172) and *Spaniard feeding an Indian to a dog* (fig.173), de Bry depicts Spanish noblemen watching on as their hounds maul a group of Indians. These 'refined' courtiers, the supposed apex of Spanish high society, are shown dressed in their finery and yet engaged in gruesome assault. In contrast to the pamphlets, de Bry uses Spanish clothing to different effect: what is significant here is not the distinctive Spanish ruff, hat and tight hose (although these garments do feature prominently), but the contrast created between the clothed perpetrators and their naked victims.

Although copied for the later 1656 frontispiece to *The Tears of the Indians* (fig.174), de Bry's engravings are markedly different from other seventeenth-century depictions of Spaniards. In fact, the majority of the later portrait-caricatures employed in seventeenth-century Black Legend texts appear to have developed upon the humorous representation of Spaniards found in pamphlets such as *A Pageant of Spanish Humours*. This form of portrait-

[95] Anti-Spanish satirical prints were not always so crass in form and some images incorporated both responses to contemporary political events *and* references to the Spaniard's aforementioned devilish qualities. In *The Double Deliverance 1588 1605* (fig.171), for example, the Spanish naval assault on England is presented visually in three parts with a horseshoe of Armada ships on the left-hand side of the folio; a council comprising the Devil, the Pope, a cardinal, a Spanish grandee and a Jesuit in the centre; and an image of Guy Fawkes, dressed in typical Spanish garb, approaching Westminster on the right-hand side.
[96] H. Keazor, 'Theodore de Bry's Images for America', *Print Quarterly*, 15 (1998), p.149.

caricature, Gombrich and Kris theorise, is best described as the 'art of laughing castigation'.[97] In Black Legend literature and prints, the authors of these visual and textual caricatures did more than 'poke fun' at their Spanish adversaries; their images were wielded with a darker intent to attack and belittle the nation represented. Indeed, as Gombrich and Kris argue, the practice of imitating an individual through means of grotesquery was a strategy that served to expose their weaknesses:

> To copy a person, to mimic his behaviour, means to annihilate his individuality…If we succeed in singling out and imitating a man's expression or way of walking, we have destroyed this individuality. It is as if we declared to our laughing fellow-creatures: "Look, here is his whole secret. You need not be afraid nor even impressed; it is all a hollow sham"[98]

Within the context of the Anglo-Spanish and Dutch-Spanish conflicts, therefore, caricatures which purportedly mimicked the 'Spanish-way' of dressing, walking, and talking, carried political potency. These were images that resolved to dethrone Spain from its position of imperial power by targeting specific political figures and the ruling classes. Illustrations for the frontispieces of Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (fig.175), Thomas Scott's *The Second Part of the Vox Populi* (fig.176) and Crispijn de Passe the younger's *Den Coninckl*ijcken *Morgen-Wecker (The Royal Morning Alarm)* (fig.177) take the unpopular Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, as their target. Gondomar was believed to be the leader of the popish Spanish faction at James I's court at the beginning of the seventeenth century and he was subject to ridicule at the hand of Middleton who characterised him as the Black Knight in the anti-Spanish play, *A Game at Chess*. The play was performed on nine consecutive nights in August 1624 before being shut down after Gondomar threatened to sever Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations.[99] In Scott's *The Second Part of the Vox Populi*, Gondomar received equally unfavourable representation, shown stood before his 'throne' (a commode) and his mode of transport (a carriage led by two donkeys). In de Passe's print too, Gondomar appears as an untrustworthy and manipulative courtier, playing 'sweet nothings' into the ear of James I with his flute, and bribing the monarch with a chest loaded with Spanish bullion.

[97] Gombrich; Kris, *Caricature*, p.8.
[98] Gombrich; Kris, *Caricature*, pp.14-15.
[99] Ribeiro, 'A Story of Pride and Prejudice', p.322.

Caricatures of Spaniards, in their truest sense as illustrations which exaggerated Spanish physical and sartorial features to their extreme, can be seen most clearly in two seventeenth-century prints that do not take specific individuals as their subjects. The print, *Le Cuisinier D'Edein, Qui à empoisonné le Diable* (fig.178) narrates the story of four Spaniards, one of whom has been poisoned by a cook to reveal his 'true' character as a devil. As he falls to the floor, his tell-tale hooves and devil horns reveal themselves beneath his Spanish garb. In another print, *Le Seignor Descarabonbardo* (fig.179), the proud Spaniard takes centre stage; like the men depicted in *Le Cuisinier*, his Spanish ruff is several inches deep, his hair black and his moustache curled to absurd effect, his hat feathered and his stance upright and stiff. In both these images, the caricatured Spaniard *becomes* his Spanish wardrobe, he is the sum of all his sartorial parts: ruff, hat, hose, and moustache.

Theatrical Caricatures

On stage, the caricature of the Spaniard could be achieved through acts of cross-cultural dressing such as wearing theatrical costume. Stage plays, court masques and street pageantry commissioned by the Crown all required elaborate and costly costume which was either manufactured by the Offices of the Revels and Wardrobe in London or, in some cases, gifted by wealthy benefactors. Festive culture in London was a curious affair, characterised by what Tracey Hill describes as a 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' form of spectatorship in which entertainment served to appease both elite and popular classes and audience participation was welcomed. Street pageants and festivals centred on medieval feast days and were connected with early Catholic rituals which assumed an increasingly secular tone throughout the sixteenth century. As Hill explains, the documentation of such festivals is not always consistent:

> …festivals are by their very nature ephemeral in part (how easily can a permanent record exist of shouts on the street or inebriated celebrations?), [however] from the sixteenth century onwards aspects of many were captured in print. There was an increasingly busy industry in England producing texts to commemorate or disseminate the festive moment.[100]

[100] T. Hill, 'Festivals' in M. Dimmock (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Aldgate, 2013), p.45.

Stage performances, on the other hand, were better recorded with many plays being published in full and listed in the Stationers' Register.[101] As previously mentioned, it is estimated that around 25,000 people visited the London playhouses a week providing loci of leisure and ideological platforms for a sizeable audience.[102] Indeed, as Griffin proposes, 'the Elizabethan theater played a substantial role in conveying to the English a sense of who "the Spaniard" was, in convincing them of his designs on their nation, and in inculcating Black Legend assumptions as representing historical truth'.[103] These performative spaces – the stage and street – offered Black Legend dramatists the ideal location in which to present anti-Spanish propaganda and the theatrical caricature of the Spaniard, as performed through cross-cultural dress.

Cross-cultural dressing can be defined as the largely Western sartorial phenomenon of wearing foreign clothes in acts of self-fashioning so as to masquerade as a non-Western Other. As Gail Chiang-Liang Low elaborates, whilst 'cross-dressing is literally the play and display of sexual difference…Colonial cross-cultural costume shares cross-dressing's fascination with boundaries and theatricality', as it plays on and displays the wearer's racial difference.[104] Recent studies into historic acts of cross-cultural dressing have tended to focus largely on later, nineteenth-century practices. Reina Lewis, for instance, in her research into the English journalist Grace Ellison's penchant for Turkish costume, explains how the wearing of foreign or non-Western clothing allowed for the formation of an alter ego, a 'body Orientalised through clothes and movement'.[105] According to Lewis, nineteenth-century Westerners such as Ellison delighted in using dress to 'pass' for another ethnicity as, 'the pleasure of wearing an exotic and splendid "native" costume [could be] enhanced by the knowledge of their white skin underneath the disguise'.[106]

Despite the temporal distance separating Ellison and her contemporaries from our sixteenth-century Englishmen, the premise behind acts of cross-cultural dressing is essentially the same. Whilst she does not examine cross-cultural dressing *per se*, Vincent explores how acts of disguise in the early modern era also relied upon the common notion of the wearer

[101] The Stationer's Register was owned by the Stationer's Company in London. Book publishers used the Register to record their publications, as well as their right to publish.
[102] As Griffin argues, they provided, 'an experiential community surpassed only by required church attendance'. See: Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.13.
[103] Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama*, p.13.
[104] G. Chiang-Liang Low, *White skins/Black masks: representation and colonialism* (London, 1996), p.222.
[105] R. Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: women, travel, and the Ottoman harem* (London/New York, 2004), p.216.
[106] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*, pp.206-213.

having an inherently 'fixed' identity: 'early modern identity was perceived as being both fixed, and role based…If identity [was] understood as essential, then disguise [was] interpreted as a mechanism for changing not the wearer's essence, but the viewer's perceptions'.[107] Understood as means of 'counterfeiting appearances', disguise in the early modern era was nearly always viewed negatively as an attempt to, 'deceive and mislead the viewer [and therefore] was usually suspicious and, it was felt, very often dangerous'.[108] Other forms of cross-cultural dressing, by contrast, were deemed more acceptable amongst certain social classes. Stallybrass and Jones examine the vogue for wearing foreign clothing amongst the English elite as both a type of costume (in keeping with most cross-cultural dress practices) and as a fashion statement in every-day attire. The former, they argue, can be witnessed in theatrical performances from the early modern era. Cross-cultural *costume* was characterized, they propose, by both the extremity of the clothing used (it was distinguished by its unusual qualities and its exoticism) and the time-frame in which it was worn:

> Aristocratic sitters appear to have played an active role in employing painters to…compose an identity for them out of the objects that signaled their participation in different cultures. Men at court, wearing exotic fancy dress, played parts in royal masques, but their roles as foreigners…were temporary: the costume was worn for one or two evenings and then retired from public life.[109]

In short, cross-cultural dress used for theatrical purposes such as stage performances, pageants and masques was caricatured. That is to say, exaggerated so as to enable the audience to identify characters and, particularly in the case of Spaniards, recognize them as figures of fun. By contrast, foreign luxury clothing worn by the English nobility as part of their normal wardrobe would not have been intentionally 'different' or outlandish in form. Rather, this foreign clothing was rendered desirable insofar as it reflected the wearer's wealth and commercial success overseas, much in the same way that the wardrobe of the Spanish nobility reflected their lucrative textile and dye trade in the Americas:

> Courtiers attempting to establish more durable intercultural identities for themselves had themselves painted in foreign clothing that was neither fanciful nor exotic. Such garments, coming from colonies and kingdoms near at hand and from across the seas, provided material evidence of their wearers' interaction

[107] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.162-163.
[108] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.154.
[109] P. Stallybrass; A. R. Jones, *Renaissance clothing and the materials of memory* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.49-50.

> with England's "others," or indeed, their partial or total incorporation into such otherness through dress.[110]

Stallybrass and Jones categorise the motivations for wearing foreign dress, therefore, into two main strata. However, documentary evidence would suggest that the early modern elite, particularly in England and Spain, engaged in cross-cultural dressing for a multitude of reasons. I argue that acts of cross-cultural dressing served five distinct, although oftentimes overlapping purposes. The first of these included acts of deference to another nation as commonly witnessed with ambassadors who adopted the dress of foreign countries when travelling. Henry VIII's court, for instance, under the influence of Catherine of Aragon, famously dressed in Spanish fashions to demonstrate good will during Charles V's state visits in 1520 and 1522.[111] Secondly, foreign dress could be worn to exhibit one nation's domination over another, as seen with Philip IV of Spain's Easter celebrations in 1623 where his livery donned Turkish dress in reference to the Spanish Reconquista over the Arabic populace.[112] Juan de la Corte's painting, *Fiesta in the Plaza Mayor* (fig.180), recalls a bullfight which took place some weeks later at the Plaza Mayor in Madrid where Philip's horseman can be seen again engaging in cross-cultural dressing.[113]

Thirdly, as Stallybrass and Jones have also mentioned, foreign dress was also worn to showcase the wearer's perceived worldliness: an extant Chinese silk cope, embroidered in Asia and sent to Philip II via Portugal (fig.76), serves as an example of such clothing. Fourthly, forms of disguise could also be enabled through wearing foreign dress, either to allow the wearer to safeguard his true identity or to commit a crime.[114] In 1623, for instance, Charles, Prince of Wales, masked his appearance with a fake beard so as to enter the court at Madrid

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[110] Stallybrass; Jones, *Materials of Memory*, pp.49-50.

[111] M. Hayward, 'Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII' in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.) *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), pp.18; 24-25.

[112] A. de Almansa y Mendoza, *Obra periodistica*, H. Ettinghausen; M. Borrego (ed.) (Madrid, 2001), p.349; A. Samson, *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, (Aldershot, 2006), p.43.

[113] The 'Turkish' horsemen can be seen in Juan de la Corte's painting riding a set of horses in the centre of the plaza, dressed in blue robes with blue turbans, and advancing upon another group of horsemen dressed in orange and brown garb.

[114] Disguising oneself, or wearing outlandish and foreign clothing, was generally regarded as immoral by pamphleteers such as the English Philip Stubbes. In his *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), Stubbes declared that, 'I would wish, that a decencie, a comly order, and as you say, a decorum were obserued, as well in Attyre, as in all things els: but, would God the contrarie were not true: For most of our nouell Inuentions and new fangled fashions, rather deforme vs then adorne vs: disguise vs, then become vs: makyng vs rather, to resemble sauadge Beastes and stearne Monsters, then continent, sober and chaste Christians'. See: P. Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses contayning a discouerie, or briefe summarie of such notable vices and imperfections, as now raigne in many Christian countreyes of the worlde…* (London, 1583)

where he planned to woo the Infanta Maria Ana of Spain.[115] Despite eschewing royal protocol, once arrived Charles enjoyed six months of entertainment where, as Miller has found, he juggled his 'status as heir to the British throne, his status as guest of the King of Spain, [and] his status as suitor for the hand of the infanta' by wearing a mixture of English and Spanish dress.[116] Further afield in the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico), too, where sumptuary legislation was rigorously enforced to prevent individuals from wearing dress outside of their station, reports speak of Mestizo men and women who donned the fashions of their social superiors so as to 'pass' for another ethnicity and thereby evade the crippling taxes levied upon them.[117] The fifth form of cross-cultural dressing, which Stallybrass and Jones also discuss and which applied most directly to the types of anti-Spanish theatre staged in England, was theatrical costume. Cross-cultural Spanish costume was intended, in the main, to mock the nation represented. Like the visual caricatures of Spaniards previously examined in prints and on canvas, theatrical caricatures of Spaniards were largely characterized by the body of clothing worn. In these scripts, which were published to be read as well as performed on stage and street, the characters' lines and stage directions define the archetypal 'Spaniard' through specific items of clothing within his wardrobe.

The Lord Mayor's show was one such festivity performed annually on 29 October, that celebrated the inauguration of a new mayor and which generated large crowds in London as well as smaller, regional festivities elsewhere.[118] For the 1617 show, a group of Englishmen dressed up as Spaniards in a masque written by Middleton entitled, *The Triumph of Honour and Industry*. The masque was intended to celebrate the inauguration of a member of the Grocers' Company and their global trade and industry. It also, significantly, included a 'Pageant of seuerall Nations', featuring groups of performers representing England's neighbouring continental countries. True to Middleton's nature, the Spanish group were not painted in a favourable light. An eye-witness account by the Italian chaplain Orazio Busino, reveals how one of the 'Spanish' characters was dressed in a buffoonish attire of 'small black moustachios and a hat and cape in the Spanish fashion with a ruff round his neck and others

[115] Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p.153.
[116] L. Miller, 'An Illustrious English Gentleman Dressed the Spanish Way', in J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol.II (Madrid, 2014), p.297.
[117] R. Earle, '"Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!" Race, Clothing and Identity in the Americas (17th-19th Centuries)', *History Workshop Journal*, 52 (2001), p.178; A.S. Fisher, 'Trade Textiles: Asia and New Spain' in D. Pierce; R. Y. Otsuka (eds.) *Asia & Spanish America: trans-Pacific artistic and cultural exchange, 1500-1850: papers from the 2006 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* (Colorado, 2009), p.178.
[118] Hill, 'Festivals', p.44.

about his wrists, nine inches deep'.[119] As Busino reports, he affected typically 'Spanish' gestures too: '[he] imitated the gestures of that nation perfectly…[and] kept kissing his hands, right and left, but especially to the Spanish ambassador, who was a short distance away from us, in such wise as to elicit roars of laughter from the multitude'.[120]

Whilst no visual records survive of this particular masque in festival books, we can gauge some sense of how Middleton's Spanish troupe would have appeared by turning to contemporary illustrations of carnival processions. An engraving by Andrew Bretschneider (fig.181 a-b) portrays an imaginary procession of Spanish characters taken from Cervantes' fictional *Don Quixote*. In it, the protagonist Don Quixote and his squire, Sancho Panza, lead an eccentric parade of figures dressed in over-sized Spanish ruffs, similar to those described by Busino. Whilst Bretschneider's parodic costumes were intended solely to entertain the reader, the festive Spanish costumes of the 1617 masque, Busino describes, actually led a rowdy crowd to assault a nearby member of the Spanish embassy:

> …some of our party saw a wicked woman in a rage with an individual supposed to belong to the Spanish embassy. She urged the crowd to mob him, setting the example by belabouring him herself with a cabbage stalk and calling him a Spanish rogue, and although in a very brave array his garments were foully smeared with a sort of soft and very stinking mud…Had not the don saved himself in a shop they would assuredly have torn his eyes out.[121]

As seen with visual caricatures, theatrical representations of Spaniards therefore had the effect of triggering the not so distant memory of Anglo-Spanish animosity and in the context of street performances which encouraged audience participation, could lead to public unrest.

Many stage plays throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries featured a strong dose of Hispanophobia, and placed special emphasis on Spanish clothing as a means of constructing an unfavourable Spanish caricature. Four plays from the period – William Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1693), Thomas Dekker's *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (1631), Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), and Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (1681) – all feature Englishmen engaging in acts of cross-cultural dressing to represent 'the Spaniard'. In instances where the character is forced to wear Spanish clothing against his will, he is

[119] Busino was the chaplain to the Venetian ambassador. See: Hill, 'Festivals', p.50.
[120] Hill, 'Festivals', p.50.
[121] Busino cited in Hill, 'Festivals', p.50.

frequently shown to experience an identity crisis in which his fixed English identity is perceived to be destabilised by his devilish and extravagant Spanish garb. In Behn's *The Rover* (1681), for example, the English character Blunt is obliged to wear a Spanish habit during the carnival in Naples, having lost his clothes in Act IV. In the stage directions, he is described as entering '*drest in a Spanish Habit, looking very ridiculously*' and exclaiming, 'a Spanish Habit, good Lord! cou'd the Devil and my Taylor devise no other Punishment for me, but the Mode of a Nation I abominate?'.[122] By the very nature of these stage directions, it is fair to assume that Blunt's 'ridiculous' costume resembled a similar garb to the exaggerated dress worn by Middleton's troupers in the *Triumph of Honour and Industry*. Indeed, Blunt goes on to describe his embarrassment in wearing his Spanish wardrobe:

> In a Spanish Habit with a Vengeance! I had rather be in the inquisition for Judaism, than in this Doublet and Breeches; a Pillory were an easy Collar to this, three Handfuls high; and these Shoes too are worse than the Stocks, with the Sole an Inch shorter than my Foot: In fine, Gentlemen, methinks I look altogether like a Bag of Bays stuff'd full of Fools Flesh.[123]

Whilst on the surface Blunt appears comically dressed in his Spanish clothing, as Kate Aughterson explains, his clothing has a more sinister undertone. Taking into consideration the setting of the play (Naples) and Blunt's previous attempted sexual assault on the character of Florinda, 'Blunt, the near-rapist, is thus emblematically dressed in the outfit of invaders…Blunt is therefore visually ridiculed and shamed, as well as condemned, by this change of dress'.[124] His clothing serves as a commentary upon the unwelcome Spanish presence in Naples.

English acts of cross-cultural dressing which appropriate and ridicule the Spanish wardrobe also feature in Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1693). In this play, the characters Monsieur de Paris and Don Diego represent two Englishmen (formerly named Nathaniel Parris and Sir James Formal) who choose to appropriate the fashions, language, and customs of a Frenchman and a Spaniard after having lived abroad. Early on, Don Diego is presented as a ludicrous caricature of the proud Spaniard when he refuses to denounce his newfound Spanish customs for English habits, 'I will be a Spaniard in every thing still, and will not conform, not I, to their ill-favour'd English customs, for I will wear my Spanish Habit still,

[122] A. Behn, *The rover: or, the banish'd cavaliers. A comedy. Written by the ingenious Mrs. Behn.* (Dublin, 1724), p.93.
[123] Behn, *The rover*, p.93.
[124] K. Aughterson, *Aphra Behn: The Comedies* (London, 2003), p.37.

I will stroke my Spanish Whiskers still, and I will eat my Spanish Olio still'.[125] As Lowenthal explains in her analysis of the text, 'both are Englishmen suffering…from the delusion that their nationhood can be taken off or put on as easily as a new set of clothes'.[126] Their second skin of foreign clothing literally constitutes a new identity: Nathaniel Parris believes himself to have turned French, just as Sir James Formal has been Hispanicised.

In many respects, Wycherley's play is a moralising commentary on the English trend for adopting foreign fashions. The play's climax features a lengthy discussion on the virtues and vices of wearing foreign garb, with Don Diego ordering Monsieur de Paris to wear Spanish fashions to wed his daughter, thereby ridding him of his French clothing and affectations. In a humorous turn of events, the reluctant groom appears dressed as an Englishman mimicking a Frenchman, under the guise of a Spaniard speaking in English tongues. The now Hispanicised Monsieur de Paris is described in the stage directions as entering dressed in the stock items of 'Spanish' garb, '*without a Perruque, with a Spanish Hat, a Spanish Doublet, Stockins, and Shooes, but in Pantalloons, a Waste-Belt, and a Spanish Dagger in't, and a Crevat about his Neck*' and declaring to his amused onlookers, 'I have deform my self into an ugly Spaniard'.[127] According to Lowenthal, this unsuccessful layering of multiple national identities is not only comical but also 'reconfirms the belief that identity itself is stable, consistent both on the surface of as well as underneath the fashion signs one might temporarily don'.[128] Don Diego and Monsieur de Paris' cross-cultural dress habits also, importantly, offer insight into how the English perceived and defined the limits of Spanish national identity according to clothing and comportment. In an attempt to rally his humiliated companion, for instance, Don Diego claims, 'Be a Spaniard like me, and ne'er think people laugh at you: there was never a Spaniard that thought any one laugh'd at him; but what do you laugh at a Golilla, Baggage? Come, Sirrah-Black, now do you teach him to walk with the verdadero gesto, gracia, and Gravidad of a true Castilian'.[129]

Similar to the *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, in which Spanish fashions feature as the butt of Wycherley's jokes, Dekker's *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (1631) condemns the Spanish

[125] W. Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master, A Comedy As it is Acted By Their Majesties Servants* (London, 1693), p.16.
[126] Lowenthal, 'Performing Nations', p.47.
[127] Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, p.38.
[128] Lowenthal, 'Performing Nations', p.38.
[129] Wycherley, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master*, p.40.

wardrobe and the noble Spaniard. Dekker's noble soldier Balthazar expresses his frustration at the fashionable Spanish nobility who are too proud to speak with a poorly-dressed soldier. In a colourful outburst, Balthazar launches an attack on his social superiors in a bid to expose their Machiavellian ways:

> You yellowhammer, why, shaver: that such poor things as these, only made up of tailor's shreds and merchant's silken rags and 'pothecary drugs to lend their breath sophisticated smells, when their rank guts stink worse that cowards in the heat of battle. Such whaleboned-doublet rascals, that owe more to laundresses and seamsters for laced linen than all their race from their great grand-father to this their reign, in clothes were ever worth. These excrements of silk worms! Oh that such flies do buzz about the beams of Majesty, like earwigs tickling a King's yielding ear with that court-organ, flattery.[130]

By pitting one Spaniard against another, Dekker employs the same discursive strategies used by Black Legend pamphleteers to legitimise their anti-Spanish vitriol by evidencing instances where Spaniards exerted cruelty or malevolence over their fellow countrymen.

The Spaniard's pride and trickery is also hinted at in other seventeenth-century plays where his wardrobe is shown to be embroiled in criminal activity. In Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), for instance, a mob of dubious characters gather at the house of a nobleman who has fled the city to escape the plague. Using Spanish fashions to mask their appearances, they plot to deceive one another via various fraudulent acts. Act IV Scene IV opens with the house-keeper Face cajoling Dame Pliant into pretending to be a Spanish Countess so that she might distract Surly who is also disguised as a Spaniard. When she asks whether a Spanish Countess is superior to an English Countess, Face sardonically responds:

> Ask from your Courtier, to your Inns-of-Court man,
> To your meer Millener; they will tell you all,
> Your Spanish Gennet is the best Horse; your Spanish
> Stoup is the best Garb; Your Spanish Beard
> Is the best Cut; your Spanish Ruffs are the best
> Wear; your Spanish pavan the best Dance;
> Your Spanish Titillation in a Glove
> The best Perfume.[131]

[130] T. Dekker, *The Noble Spanish Soldier* (London, 1631), n.p.
[131] B. Jonson, *The Alchemist. A Comedy.* (London: 1610), p.218.

Whilst Face's monologue may initially read as a tribute to the fashionable Spanish wardrobe, we know from Jonson's later descriptions of Surly's Spanish dress that his speech is laced with irony. When Surly appears dressed in his Spanish garb, and affecting Spanish airs and graces, Subtle comments, 'He looks in that deep Ruff, like a Head in a Platter, Serv'd in by a short Cloke upon two Tressils'.[132] That Surly should adopt Spanish fashions to 'go incognito' and trick his peers is telling of the deceptive nature commonly associated with the Spaniard, but also the distinctiveness of his garb – Spanish dress was considered 'different' enough from other continental fashions to be able to mask the wearer's true identity.[133] In each of these plays, as in the visual caricatures depicted in print and on canvas, the stock 'Spaniard' is represented first and foremost through his wardrobe. Each item of clothing assumes a life of its own; exaggerated to absurd effect so as to mock the Spanish subject.[134] By personifying the Spanish wardrobe, Black Legend satirists and playwrights belittled Spain's role as imperial power and defender of the Catholic faith; their theatrical and visual caricatures gave form to Spain's new role as the laughing stock of England and Europe.

Concluding Thoughts

The long-lasting legacy of the Black Legend of Spain can be clearly seen in visual culture from the sixteenth century through to the present day with later satirical prints, such as *The Family Compact* (fig.182) and *The Royal Quixote* (fig.183), continuing to depict the stock 'Spaniard' as a devilish fiend with his curled moustache and feathered hat. In 1967, for instance, historian Philippe Erlanger wrote that the sixteenth-century Spaniard was a figure who, '…not only boasted that he held dominion over a vast empire; felt himself stronger, more awe-inspiring, more civilized, more chivalrous and nearer to God than any man who belonged

[132] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, p.227.

[133] In contrast to the other theatrical acts of cross-cultural dressing discussed here, Surly's disguise is so convincing that his peers actually believe him to be a Spaniard and speak freely amongst one another, exchanging insults about his Spanish dress and behaviour. Face's eulogy to Spanish fashion is, therefore, quickly undone by his ridiculing of Surly's foreign wardrobe.

[134] In these descriptions of Spanish ruffs, feathered hats, tight hose and round-cut cloaks, we are reminded of similar texts from the period which personify items of dress. In Robert Greene's humorous *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: Or, a quaint dispute between Velvet breeches and cloth-breeches* (1592) and the later, anonymously-penned *Exchange Ware at the Second Hand* (1615) it is clothing articles, rather than individuals, which take centre stage as the texts' protagonists. In the latter, for instance, the character of Cuff mediates a dispute between Ruff and Band over who is the more fashionable of the two, with Band being described as popular amongst young gentlemen and Ruff amongst the clergy. See: R. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: Or, a quaint dispute between Velvet breeches and cloth-breeches* (London, 1592); Anon. *Exchange Ware at the Second Hand* (London, 1615)

to a foreign nation: he *was* the cynosure of every eye, he *was* the glass of fashion'.[135] Despite nearly four hundred years separating Erlanger from the propagandists discussed in this epilogue, his description of the Spanish nobleman still resonates with the same prejudices. Such was the scale and vitriol of the early Black Legend material circulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that nearly all memory of a positive Anglo-Spanish alliance has all but been eclipsed. In more recent years, scholars such as Samson, Griffin, and Fuchs have sought to revise the history of early modern Spain, and Euro-Spanish relations, to bring into relief the more amicable nature of their diplomatic interactions, and to shine a light upon Philip II's purportedly tyrannous reign.[136]

Having previously examined the largely positive interaction between England and Spain during the mid-part of the sixteenth century in my earlier chapters, this epilogue has explored how and when European- and Anglo-Spanish relations began to sour. Rising tensions between Spain and her neighbouring countries towards the end of the century were engendered by a number of contributing factors: Spain's brutality in the Netherlands and the New World; England's charity towards the Dutch rebels fighting Alba's troops; and a general anxiety that Spain might succeed in her plans to re-Catholicize Protestant England and Europe. It was out of this conflict that the Black Legend of Spain was born. This epilogue has examined the deliberate abuse of foreign, Spanish clothing during the wartime period (1585-1604) and beyond, focussing on instances when Spanish fashions – and the fashioned Spanish body – were denigrated in Black Legend pamphlets and broadsides, mocked in satirical imagery, and embroiled in subversive acts of cross-cultural dressing such as theatrical costume. By exposing the 'true nature' of Spain – as being inherently evil, bestial and racially miscegenated – these propagandists sought to legitimize their anti-Spanish vitriol. To achieve this end, these propagandists, I propose, needed an easily identifiable target which could be rapidly reproduced in printed pamphlets, broadsides, images, and plays to keep up with changing political events in England and Europe. The stock image of 'the Spaniard' was created in response to this demand through repeated descriptions, both textual and visual, of his clothing choices and bodily composition. Above all, it was his distinctive Spanish wardrobe of ruff, cloak, hose, hat and moustache, I argue, which served as a visual shorthand with which English

[135] P. Erlanger, *The Age of Courts and Kings: Manners and Morals 1558-1715* (London, 1967), p.15.
[136] B. Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain the English Literature* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp.1-3; Samson. 'The colour of the country', p.112; E. Griffin, 'Copying "the Anti-Spaniard": Post-Armada Hispanophobia and English Renaissance Drama in B. Fuchs; E. Weissbourd (eds.) *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp.191; 205.

and European readers and spectators could identify their ‘common enemy’. In textual, visual and theatrical caricatures, the stock ‘Spaniard’ became his clothing.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, scholarly attention towards Spain and its sartorial culture has expanded. In 2015, the Museo del Santa Cruz, Toledo, launched a major exhibition focussing on Spanish fashion in the Golden Age, titled *La moda española en el Siglo de Oro*. A year previously, José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo published their dual-language, two-volume, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, on the back of an international conference held in 2007, which brought together thirty scholars to examine the role of Spanish court dress both within and beyond the peninsula.[1] And, in 2017 alone, three British museums embarked on 'Spanish projects': the Bowes Museum rehung its Spanish Gallery; the Wallace Collection launched its temporary exhibition, *From El Greco to Goya*; and the Dulwich Picture Gallery announced its intent to expand research into its Spanish art collections.[2] These developments marked a shift in the cultural perception of Spain in the Anglosphere which for many years – excluding the pioneering work of Jonathan Brown, Laura Fernández-González and Fernando Checa Cremades – had been misconceived as a cultural backwater in terms of art historical studies. Whilst there has been an increased scholarly awareness of Spain as a cultural and sartorial leader during this period, much of this research has failed to fully examine the extent and far-reach of its textiles and fashion diaspora, both within and outside of the Spanish dominions in the early modern era. This thesis raises the curtain on this little-studied area of Anglo-Spanish dress history to show that the practice of wearing luxury Spanish fashions, and purchasing Spanish textiles and household furnishings, was more widespread than commonly perceived and was popular amongst both the English aristocracy and nobility during the years c.1554-1603.

By the very nature of its focus on Anglo-Spanish material exchanges and diplomatic relations, this thesis holds currency in the present scholarly field as its timely arrival coincides with an increased academic and museological interest in Anglo-Spanish history and art at large.

[1] J. L. Colomer; A. Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vols.I-II (Madrid: CEEH, 2014)

[2] Major developments are also underway to establish the new Spanish Gallery and Zurbarán Research Centre at Auckland Castle in County Durham, UK by 2020.

Significantly, too, it builds upon recent scholarly advances which seek to illuminate the more nuanced, and oftentimes positive nature of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, thereby negating the traditional historical view of England and Spain as 'sworn enemies'. It breaks new ground in the field of dress history by illustrating that Spanish fashions were worn beyond the Spanish dominions, by their political and religious 'rivals' in England, and that these consumers dressed the 'Spanish way' for a multitude of reasons: to satisfy a personal taste for luxury; to demonstrate a political alliance to Spain; to feed a Machiavellian desire to 'get ahead' by displaying supposedly Hispanophilic tendencies; and even, to taunt a newfound rival. At its very heart, this thesis stems from a basic question – 'why should an Englishman or woman dress in the clothes of his or her political and religious rival?' – seeking to offer original insight into the nature and conditions of the English consumption of Spanish fashions in England at a time when Anglo-Spanish relations were notoriously volatile. However, it also proposes a set of more sophisticated research questions that aim to unpeel the multi-layered responses to Spain, and its sartorial culture, in England during Mary and Elizabeth's reigns. It asks firstly how the 'Spanish Model' of fashion was made and traded; secondly, why, and in what ways, the English elite used Spanish fashions in their self-fashioning agendas; and thirdly, whether the souring of Anglo-Spanish relations during and after the wartime period of the 1580s changed the reception of Spanish fashions and 'all things Spanish' in England. In answering these three questions, this thesis offers original contributions to three key areas of scholarship: the infrastructure of the Spanish fashion and textiles diaspora; the nature of English politicised dress practices; and the impact of the Black Legend upon English consumption practices.

This thesis contributes to the existing knowledge on the infrastructure of the Spanish fashion and textiles diaspora by demonstrating that, despite being termed the 'Spanish Model', the Spanish style of dressing was in fact more international in its manufacture and provenance than previously acknowledged. Spanish fashions, I argue, largely sourced their textiles from Italy and the Low Countries, as well as the Iberian Peninsula, and their dyes from the Americas. As such, the consumers of these fashions connoted ideals of 'worldliness' to onlookers. By using pattern books, costume books, conduct manuals, household inventories, portraiture and legal sources such as sumptuary legislation and *cartas ejecutorias de hidalguía* I piece together an image of what the 'Spanish Model' of dressing actually looked like, and provide a glossary of Spanish costume and dye terminology, as well as English translations of Spanish inventories. This thesis also shows how the 'Spanish Model' was disseminated throughout Europe, particularly into England, through an examination of the leather and wool trade. It proves that

Spanish leather and wool were traded into England in considerable quantities, appearing frequently on the Customs Books of Rates and Port Books, and it demonstrates that this trade continued into England even during the embargoes and wartime period. By examining the Aliens Returns, Patent Rolls and State Papers, this thesis also shows that Spanish craftsmen and merchants formed a considerable enclave in London, occupying wards all over the city, including the dockyards near Tower Wharf where they sold their wares. It identifies specific Spanish and English craftsmen who were granted licenses to trade and make Spanish textile wares in England and it also finds that Spanish wares were sold in the Royal Exchange.

Once traded into England, Spanish fashions, textiles and household furnishings were consumed by elite individuals for a variety of purposes. This thesis expands upon existing knowledge of English politicised dress practices to show how the elite classes wielded foreign Spanish fashions with an eye to presenting a public identity which was, more often than not, highly politicised. In examining Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I's wardrobe warrants, inventories and gift rolls, this thesis illustrates that the two queens wore Spanish fashions at key political moments to communicate a message about their standpoint towards Spain: Mary, as bride of Philip II of Spain, wore Spanish dress to court the attention of her way-ward husband, to show that she too could be a 'good Habsburg queen' capable of producing an Habsburg heir, and to demonstrate that England had an alliance to Spain. Elizabeth, by contrast, wore Spanish dress not to show an affiliation to this neighbouring country, but for two diverse reasons: firstly, because their fashions were highly luxurious, and secondly, and particularly during the wartime period, because she wished to project a victorious and nationalistic image of herself, triumphant over Spain. Significantly, this thesis introduces a key term for understanding why certain members of the English elite classes wore Spanish fashions: pseudo-Hispanophilia. Pseudo-Hispanophilia, I argue, was the act of disingenuous love or appreciation for Spain, exhibited by members of the 'Spanish Faction' as well as the Earls of Leicester and Essex, for ulterior political or social motives. Through carrying out archival research into the household accounts and inventories of these noblemen, I prove that they dressed the Spanish way so as to approximate themselves to the Spanish entourage at court, to continue receiving Spanish favour and pensions, and to climb the social ladder.

By analysing the wealth of anti-Spanish prints, pamphlets and broadsides published during the final quarter of the century, and the Hispanophobic dramas and processions performed on the English stage and streets, this thesis also reveals the impact of the Black

Legend upon English consumption practices. It shows that the rise in Hispanophobia which emerged following the souring of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, marked a shift in the reception of Spanish fashions. From this, the stock image of 'the Spaniard' was born and clothing, in particular, became a core component in the creation of this cultural stereotype. The Spaniard's ruff, his jerkin and moustache, and his use of the colour black, were ridiculed for purportedly embodying the wearer's pride, cruelty and vanity. It was this turn of events and change in public perception, I argue, which contributed to the demise of Spanish fashions as the most luxurious styles in Europe.

In answering my key research questions, and in contributing to these three core areas of knowledge, this project also invites the opportunity for future research into other tangential areas which build upon the scholarship on Anglo-Spanish material exchanges and sartorial practices laid out herein. My examination of selected individuals – monarchs, Mary and Elizabeth, and specific nobility – and their household inventories broadens the potential for further, concentrated case studies into other members of the English nobility. Jane Dormer, for instance, who resided at Mary's court and became truly Hispanicised by marrying the Duke of Feria, has been the subject of scant research.[3] Likewise, Thomas Chaloner, who is mentioned in Chapter One for dressing like a Spaniard and interacting regularly with the Spanish, is also yet to be fully researched.[4] Anonymous English figures too, who appear dressed in Spanish garb in extant portraiture, provide intriguing veins of enquiry: the Holburne Museum in Bath, for example, possesses a portrait described simply as an 'Anonymous woman wearing Spanish dress' (fig.184). Her dates and attribution are equally vague, she is listed as having been created in the latter part of the sixteenth century (c.1580s), and her maker is unknown. According to the Museum catalogue, over the years she has been mistaken for Mary Tudor, Jane Dormer (the Duchess of Feria), and even Elizabeth I. However, interestingly, she wears both a Spanish gown and a pomander shaped like an armillary sphere; a token traditionally believed to have been gifted from Elizabeth to her English courtiers.[5] Her portrait reflects a noblewoman who wishes to fashion herself as one-part Anglicised and one-part Hispanicised. In addition to such case studies, the opportunity to expand upon the existing surveys of inventories and port books included herein, to consider the breadth of the consumption of Spanish wares elsewhere in

[3] A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (New York, 1963)
[4] G. M. Bell, 'Sir Thomas Chaloner's Diplomatic Expenses in Spain', *Historical Research*, 53:129 (1980), pp.118-124.
[5] J. Wilson, 'Queen Elizabeth I as Urania', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69 (2006), pp.151-173.

Wales and Scotland would also offer interesting caveats to this present study. And finally, with a project that focusses wholly on what the English – and also other Europeans – thought of the Spanish, it would be fruitful to turn the lens around and consider what the Spanish thought of *their* European neighbours, and how they may have responded to the English nobility wearing Spanish dress.[6]

Overall, this thesis is the first study to tell the story of the elite consumption of luxury Spanish fashions, textiles and household furnishings in England during the mid- to late-sixteenth century. It reveals how the motivations of the English elite classes for 'dressing the Spanish way' were far more complex than simply wishing to appear fashionable or even worldly – although this often was the case. English consumers, I argue, from the royal household to the extended court, purchased and wore Spanish fashions during periods of close interaction with Spanish royalty and nobility so as to approximate themselves to Spain. They also commissioned portraits of themselves dressed in Spanish garb at key political moments so as to comment upon theirs, and England's own political standing vis-à-vis Spain. And, they later engaged in acts of cross-cultural dressing, wearing exaggerated examples of Spanish dress as ludicrous costume, to deride their later rival. These sartorial practices reveal that England interacted with, negotiated and emulated Spain even during periods of diplomatic tension and that the ties binding these two nations together were stronger than traditionally believed.

[6] Research into how Spain responded to the Black Legend during the seventeenth century was carried out as part of the research project, *The Black Legend and the Spanish Identity in Golden Age Spanish Theater (1580-1665)*, led by Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez at University College London in 2015. This project examined both how Spanish intellectuals received the Black Legend, and the role that the Legend played in shaping Spanish national identity.

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Abbreviations

Add MS	*Additional Manuscripts*
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
BL	British Library
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
BRO	Bristol Record Office
C	*Chancery*
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers*
E	*Exchequer*
E 101	*King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various*
HCA	*High Court of Admiralty*
IHR	Institute of Historical Research, Senate House
LC	*Lord Chamberlain's Department*
NAL	National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum
OSUNA	*Archivo de los Duques de Osuna*
Req	*Proceedings in the Court of Requests*
SN	Sección Nobleza
SP	*State Papers*
TNA	The National Archives, London (formerly PRO, the Public Record Office)
WSHC	Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre
XR	*Microfilm*

Manuscript Sources

AGI, Patronato, Leg.182, R.50

BL Add MS 48126: 1500-1640: 'Papers Chiefly Relating to Foreign Affairs and Trade, with some British political material; 1551-1602…'

BL Additional MS 5751a, 1559-1577: 'Miscellaneous Warrants'

BL Add MS 6239

BL Add MS 28361, 1579-1588: 'Papers relating to the ceremonies of the palace, grandees, titles, precedence, etc, with letters from the King, Mateo Vasquez, the Duke of Alva and others'

BL Add MS 12/504

BL Add MS 48126, 1500-1640: 'Papers chiefly relating to foreign affairs and trade, with some British political material; 1551-1602? Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish…'

BL Cotton MS Otho C X, 2nd quarter 16th century-1st half 17th century: ‘Papers (originals and copies) relating to the divorce of King Henry VIII of England (1509–1547) from Queen Katherine of Aragon (1509–1533; d. 1536), and to his marriages to Anne Boleyn (1533–1536),…’

BL Cotton MS Vespasian C III, 1525-1st half of the 17th century: ‘Correspondence (originals and transcripts) concerning England and Spain, February 1525-December 1526, principally of King Henry VIII of England (1509-1547) and Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey (d.1530)’

BL Egerton MS 2806, 1568-1589: ‘A Booke of Warrantes to the great Guarderobe, Tempore Regine Elizabeth, towchyng her Maiesties Roobes and Appareill": a register of warrants addressed to John Fortescue, Master of the Great Wardrobe for payments for materials and workmanship, as well as for the delivery of stuffs out of the wardrobe, with minute descriptive details etc.’

BL Harley MS 419

BL Harley MS 260

BL Harley MS 6994, ‘Letter from Francis Walsingham to the Lord Treasurer regarding the Treaty for Peace with the Duke of Parma [18 July 1588]’

BL Lansdowne MS 14: Burghley Papers: 1565-1573

BL Lansdowne MS 26: Burghley Papers: 1577-1578

BL Lansdowne MS 30/83: ‘An inventory of the Earl of Arundel's goods in the Castle of Arundel, July 20, 1580’

BL Lansdowne MS 41/36: 1583-1584: ‘An account of goods and merchandise brought into the port of Bristol, from Spain, Portugal, and the Isles of Canaries and Madeira, by English Merchants…’

BNE MS 9937

BNE R/31528, 1552: ‘Título de las ordenanças que los muy Ilustres y muy magníficos Señores [sic] Granada mandan que se guarden para la Buena governación de su República. Las cuales mandaron imprimir para que todos las sepan y las guarden’

BNE R/5661, 1552: Capítulo XVI, f.36r: ‘La pregmática del obraje de los paños ansi bervis como de todas las otras suertes de paños que en estos Reynos se suelen hacer, y que lana y colores an de llevar y como se an de texer, y tundir y acabar perfectamente…’

BNE R/31720(1), 1585: ‘Furs, capitols, provisions, e actes de cort, fets y atorgats per la S.C.R.M. Del rey Don Phelip nostre senyor en la vila de Monço, en lo any M.D.LXXXV’

Bod MS Perrot 5: ‘A Direction for a Travailer’

BRO FX15: Port Books

BRO FX16: Port Books

BRO FX17: Port Books

BRO P.St JB Misc.: ‘Records of the Anglican parish of St John Baptist’

NAL MSL 30/1982/30, 1561: ‘“An Inventorie of all the gold and sylver plate, jewells, apparell and wardrobe stuffe, with the furniture of stable, armourie and all other implements of household belonging to ... William, Earle of Pembroke" at Wilton House, Wilts, 1561’

SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.288, D.60-61: ‘Documentación relativa al pleito que Brianda [Sarmiento] de la Cerda, mujer de Francisco [López] de Zúñiga, ambos [IV] duques de Béjar, interpuso a su hijastro Francisco Diego López de Zúñiga, [V] duque de Béjar, sobre los inventarios de bienes que se hicieron tras la muerte del primero’

SN, AHN, OSUNA, C.429, D.114-119: ‘Inventario de bienes de [Juan Alfonso Pimental de Herrera, V] conde[-duque] de Benavente. Se refiere a los conservados en la cámara y guardarropa’

TNA C 115/91, 1561-1585: ‘Day Book of the Wardrobe of Robes’

TNA E 101/427/18, 19 July 1553-17 November 1558: ‘Warrants subsidiary to accounts of the great wardrobe. 1 to 6 Mary’

TNA E 101/428/5, 25 July 1556-5 July 1558: ‘Account book of Sir Edward Waldgrave, keeper of the great wardrobe. 3 and 4 and 4 and 5 Phil & Mary’

TNA E 101/429/3, 1559: ‘Materials for the Apparel of her Majestie and the persons engaged about her coronation’

TNA E 122/22/4: ‘Ledger of particulars of account of Thomas Kelke & Henry Pomerey, collectors of Customs’

TNA E 122/24/12: ‘Port: Bristol Controlment of import duties by G. Jones’

TNA E 159/324: ‘Memoranda Roll, 37 Henry VIII, Mich.’

TNA E 159/329: ‘Memoranda Roll, 4 Edw VI, Easter’

TNA E 159/332: ‘Memoranda Roll, 7 Edw VI, Trin.’

TNA E 159/341: ‘Memoranda Roll, 2 Eliz I, Mich.’

TNA E 159/369: ‘Memoranda Roll, 17 Eliz I, part 2, Trin.’

TNA E 190/4/2: ‘The Port of London. Port: London Official: Controller of Customs and Subsidies. Overseas inwards’

TNA E 190/1129/11, 1575-1576: ‘The Head Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Controller Overseas inwards’

TNA E 190/1131/10, 1594-1595: ‘The Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Surveyor Overseas’

TNA E 190/ 1132/11, 1600-1601: ‘The Port of Bristol. Port: Bristol Official: Surveyor Overseas’

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TNA LC 5/33, 1562-1567: ‘Wardrobe Warrants of Queen Elizabeth I’

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APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF DYESTUFFS, COSTUME AND TEXTILES TERMINOLOGY[7]

Table A: Dyestuffs	
Annatto (*bixa orellana*)	an evergreen shrub from Mexico, and Central and South America, that makes a red or yellow dye
Brazilwood	a logwood from Brazil that makes a red dye
Campeche wood (*haematoxylum campechianum*)	a logwood from Mexico, Central and South America, that makes a black dye
Cochineal	a parasitic insect from Mexico, and North, South and Central America, that lives on the prickly pear cactus and, when dried, makes a red dye
Copper Sulphate	a chemical compound used to make blue dyes
Dodder (*cuscuta*)	a parasitic plant from Mexico, and North and Central America, that is used to make yellow dyes
Fustic (*morus tinctoria*)	a logwood from Cuba, and North, Central and South America, whose dye is obtained from the trunk and yields a yellow colour

[7] The glossary of dyestuffs terminology is compiled using G. Prance and M. Nesbitt (eds.), *The Cultural History of Plants* pp.303-313; and M. E. Haude, 'Identification of Colorants on Maps from the Early Colonial Period of New Spain (Mexico)', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 37:3 (1998), pp.240-270. All dyestuffs listed are those imported into the Iberian Peninsula from the Americas.
The glossary of costume and textiles terminology is compiled from the garments and textiles described in H. Ettinghausen, 'Fashion Reporting in Early Seventeenth-century Spain', in J. L. Colomer and A. Descalzo (eds.), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, Vol. I (Madrid, 2014), pp.419-445; M. Herrero García, *Los Tejidos en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2014) and *Estudios Sobre Indumentaria Española en la época de los Austrias* (Madrid, 2014); and C. Bernís, 'La Moda en la España de Felipe II', in S. Saavedra (ed.), *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1990), pp.65-111. All terms have been checked and matched, where applicable, in accordance with Sebastian Covarrubias' dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611).

Indigo (*indigofera suffruticosa*)	a perennial from Mexico, and Central and South America, whose leaves are used to make indigo dyes
Mollusk	an invertebrate animal whose fluids are used to make red or purple dyes
Soluble Red Wood (*caesalpinia*)	a logwood from Brazil used to make red dyes
Spanish Moss (*tillandsia usneoides*)	a moss from the *tillandsia usneoides* tree that, when ground, makes brown, dark yellow or violet dyes
White indigo-berry (*randia aculeata*)	a shrub from North American with fragrant white flowers and fruit
Yellow Cosmos (*cosmos sulphurous*)	a plant from Mexico whose flowers are used to make yellow and orange dyes
Sumac (*rhus coriaria*)	a flowering plant from Africa and North America with red fruit, 'sumac bobs', and leaves with tannins used for vegetable tanning.

Table B: Costume (*commonly referenced clothing terms are given in bold with illustrations*)

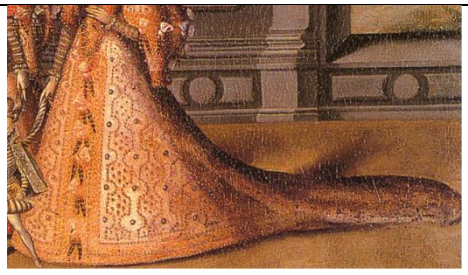
Abanino	Bodice or stomacher	
Almilla	Military waistcoat	
Alpargatas	Sandals	
Apretador	Sleeveless waistcoat	
Balandrán	Cassock	
Banda	Sash or belt	
Basquiña	Petticoat	

Bohemio	**Cloak with fur trim**	 Bartolomé González y Serrano, *Archduke Leopoldo (wearing a bohemio)*, c.1608, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Bonete	Cap	
Borceguí	**Buskin or bootee**	 Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Philip II of Spain (detail showing a pair of borceguíes)*, 1566, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. *(This work is in the public domain)*
Botas	Leather knee-high boots	
Botarga	Motley or colourful outfit	
Bragueta	**Codpiece**	

		Titian, *Philip I of Austria (later King of Spain, detail of bragueta)*, 1551, oil on canvas, 193x111cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid © Museo Nacional del Prado
Brial	Silk skirt	
Calzas	**Hose**	 Titian, *Philip I of Austria (later King of Spain, detail of calzas)*, 1551, oil on canvas, 193x111cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Calzas atacadas	**Breeches / trunk hose**	 Titian, *Philip I of Austria (later King of Spain, detail of calzas)*, 1551, oil on canvas, 193x111cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Calzón	Breeches	
Calzoncillos	Underpants	
Camisa	Undershirt / vest	
Camisola	Camisole	
Camiseta	Singlet / vest	

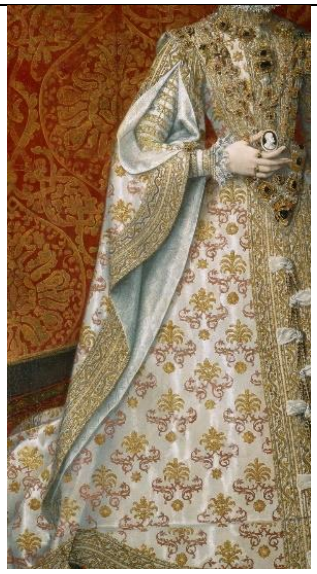
Capa	**Hooded cloak**	 *Capa belonging to Stephan Praun III (part of a larger pilgrimage ensemble)*, 1571, German, 78x48cm, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg *(This work is the public domain)*  Abraham de Bruyn, *Spaanse heer te paard*, 1577, German, engraving, 15.2x11.3cm, Rijksmuseum, The Netherlands. *(This work is licensed under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal)*
Capellar	Moorish-style cloak	
Capillo	Bonnet / hood	
Capirote	Hood	
Capote	**Cloak**	**c.f *capa***
Capuz	Hooded cloak	
Casaca	Dress cloak	

Chopines	**Platform clogs**	 *Chopines*, c.1590-1610, Italian, silk and metal, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *(This work is licensed under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal)*
Chupa	Jacket	
Cinta	Ribbon	
Coleto	**Leather jerkin**	 *Coleto*, 1550-1600, Spain, leather and iron, 48x45x30.5cm, Museum of London, London. © Museum of London
Coroza	Conical hat	
Corpiño	Bodice or stays	
Cota	Mail coat	
Cotilla	Corset	

Cuello	**Ruff**	 El Greco, *Jorge Manuel Theotocopoulos (detail of cuello)*, 1600-05, oil on canvas, 81×56 cm, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Seville *(This work is in the public domain)*
Cuera	**Leather jerkin**	**c.f *Coleto***
Enagua	Petticoat	
Escarpines	Socks worn underneath calzas	
Escote	Neckline	
Faldellín	Underskirt worn atop the camisa and below the *saya* or *basquiña*	
Falda	**Skirt train**	 Anonymous artist, *Philip II with Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, and Infante Philip III (detail of falda)*, c.1583-85, oil on panel, measurements and location unknown *(This work is in the public domain)*
Faltriquera	Bag, pocket	

Galera	**Sleeved gown worn atop the *jubón* or *basquiña***	 Bartolomé González y Serrano, *Ana de Austria (wearing a galera)*, 1616, oil on canvas, 108.5x87cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Gabán	Overcoat	
Golilla	**Stiff flat collar, popularized by Philip IV of Spain (1605-1665)**	 Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV (detail of golilla)*, 1624, oil on canvas, 200x102.9cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York *(This work is licensed under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal)*
Gorilla	Velvet cap	
Gorra	**Silk or wool hat**	

		Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Isabel de Valois (detail showing a gorra)*, c.1605, oil on canvas, 120.1x84cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Gramalla	Long gown worn by jurors	
Gregüescos	Wide breeches	
Guantes	Gloves	
Herreruelo	**Cloak with collar**	 *Herreruelo*, c.1500s, Spain, silk with metal thread, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York *(This work is licensed under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal)*
Húngaro	Long tunic	
Jubón	**Jerkin, doublet**	 Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Isabel Clara Eugenia with Magdalena Ruiz (detail of lechuguilla)*, 1568, oil on canvas, 207x129cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Justillo	Sleeveless undershirt	

Lechuguilla	**Lace ruff**	 Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Isabel Clara Eugenia with Magdalena Ruiz (detail of lechuguilla)*, 1568, oil on canvas, 207x129cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Listón	Silk ribbon	
Loba	Clerical cassock	
Mangas	**Sleeves**	 Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Isabel Clara Eugenia with Magdalena Ruiz (detail of lechuguilla)*, 1568, oil on canvas, 207x129cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Manguillas	Undersleeves	
Manteleta	Shawl	
Manteo	Long cloak or skirt	
Martingalas	Tack used to secure calzas-calzones	

Muceta	Silk cloak	
Pantunflo	**Slippers**	 Titian, *Philip I of Austria (later King of Spain, detail of pantunflo)*, 1551, oil on canvas, 193x111cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Pollera	Full, gathered skirt	
Pretinilla	Waistband	
Rebozo	Shawl which covers the face	
Ropilla	Cassock	
Ropón	**Loose gown**	 Anthonis Mor, *Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal (wearing a black ropón)*, 1552-53, oil on panel, 107x84cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Saltambarca	Rustic dress	

Saya	**Skirt or two-piece gown**	 Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Isabel de Valois (wearing a black velvet saya)*, c.1605, oil on canvas, 120.1x84cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Sayo	**Doublet**	 Titian, Philip II, c.1549-1550, oil on canvas, 103x82cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. © Museo Nacional del Prado
Sobrepelliz	Surplice	
Toca	Handkerchief	
Tonelete	Short skirt	
Toquilla	Headscarf	

Tudesco	**Cloak with sleeves**	 Abraham de Bruyn, *Nederlandse prins te paard*, 1577, German, engraving, 16.3x12.1cm, Rijksmuseum, The Netherlands. *(This work is licensed under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal)*
Ungarino	Loose knee-length coat	
Valona	Flat collar	
Verdugado	**Conical farthingale**	 Pedro García de Benabarre, *St John Retable (detail showing a verdugado)*, c.1460-1500, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona
Verdugo	Wood or whalebone rings on farthingale	
Zaragüelles	Loose breeches	
Table C: Textiles, Leathers, Furs and Feathers		
Bayeta	Flannel	
Brocado	Brocade	

Burato	Serge	
Camelote	Camlet	
Cebellina	Sable	
Chamelote	Damask	
Entrapada	Cloth dyed in grain	
Garzota	Heron feathers	
Gorbión	Silk twist fabric	
Gorgorán	Silk cord	
Jerguilla	Fine silk or wool	
Jirel	Fine saddlecloth	
Lama	Gold or silver cloth	
Lana	Wool	
Lanilla	Flannel	
Lienzo	Linen	
Limiste	Fine Segovian cloth	
Martinet	Heron feathers	
Milán	Milanese linen	
Penachera	Plume	
Penacho	Plume	
Peñasco	Hardwearing cloth	
Primavera	Floral silk fabric	
Raja	Rash cloth	
Raso	Satin	

Seda	Silk	
Tabí	Figured silk	
Tafetán	Taffeta	
Tafilete	Moroccan leather	
Tahalí	Sword belt	
Tela de Florencia	Fine rash cloth	
Telilla	Striped canvas	
Telliz	Saddlecloth	
Terciopelo	Velvet	
Terliz	Ticking	
Tirela	Striped cloth	
Velillo	Floral gauze (silver thread)	

Table D: Adornment and Jewellery

Aforro	Lining	
Alamar	Lace button	
Banda	Strip, sash or ribbon	
Bocado	Slash	
Bordado	Embroidered	
Brahón	Shoulder roll	
Cabos	Trimming	
Cadenilla	Chain	
Cañutillo	Glass bead	

Cenefa	Edging	
Cintillo	Ribbon or hatband	
Cordón	Braiding	
Cortadura	Slashing	
Criznejas	Plaits	
Cuajado	Garnished	
Cuchillo	Gusset	
Desflecar	To remove fringed edges	
Entorchado	With sprigs	
Escarchado	Embroidered in silver and gold	
Escarolado	Frilled	
Espejuelos	Sequins	
Faja	Strip	
Florón	Rosette	
Flueco	Fringe	
Forro	Facing or lining	
Galas	Finery	
Gandujados	Gathers	
Gayado	Coloured stripes	
Guarnecido	Adorned	
Guarnición	Adornment	
Jaspeado	Flecked	
Largueado	Woven with coloured thread	

Lazo	Bow	
Lentejuela	Sequin	
Ojal	Buttonhole	
Onda	Wavelet	
Pasamano	Embellishment	
Perilla	Pear motif	
Picadura	Slash	
Piñas	Pineapple motif	
Punta	Lace	
Randado	Openwork	
de Realces	Embossed	
Recamo	Lace	
Romano	Pomegranate motif	
Soguilla	Braiding or plaiting	
Torzal	Silk braiding	
Trencillo	Braiding	
Vainilla	Fringes	
Vivo	Braiding	
Vuelta	Cuff	

APPENDIX B: CUSTOMS BOOKS OF RATES

Table E: Customs Books of Rates for 1507 and 1582

Fees for imports of leather, woollen and Spanish wares (*Spanish articles are given in bold.)*[8]

	Articles	1507			1582		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
A	Armyns the tymber that ys to saye the xl skynes	0	13	3			
	Aglets or Buttons for Children caps, the dosen				0	5	0
	Aglets or Buttons for other caps of Copper the groce				0	3	5
B	Badger skins the skin				0	0	7
	Basel lether the dosen				0	8	0
	Beares skinnes the skin black				0	16	0
	Beares skinnes the skin white				0	30	0
	Bever skinnes the role				0	20	0
	Bever skinnes the peece				0	5	0
	Boords for shoomakers the peece				0	0	12
	Bosses for bridles the groce				0	10	0
	Bottles of glasse covered with lether and with vices the dozen				0	30	0
	Buskins of lether the xij [12] paire				0	40	0
C	Callabur rawe that ys to saye xl skynes the tymber	0	3	4			
	Callbur tawed the timber containing xl [40] skins				0	6	8
	Cardes look in wool cardes				0	0	0
	Cats skins in the c. containing v.xx [15]				0	25	8
	Cony skynes sesoned the c	0	3	4			

[8] The 1507 and 1582 books are included here to illustrate the increase in fees from the start to end of the century. Data sourced from: 'Appendix C: A book of rates, 15 July 1507' in N. S. B. Gras (ed.) *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), pp.694-706; 'The Book of Rates of 1582' in T. S. Willan (ed.) *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962), pp.1-86.

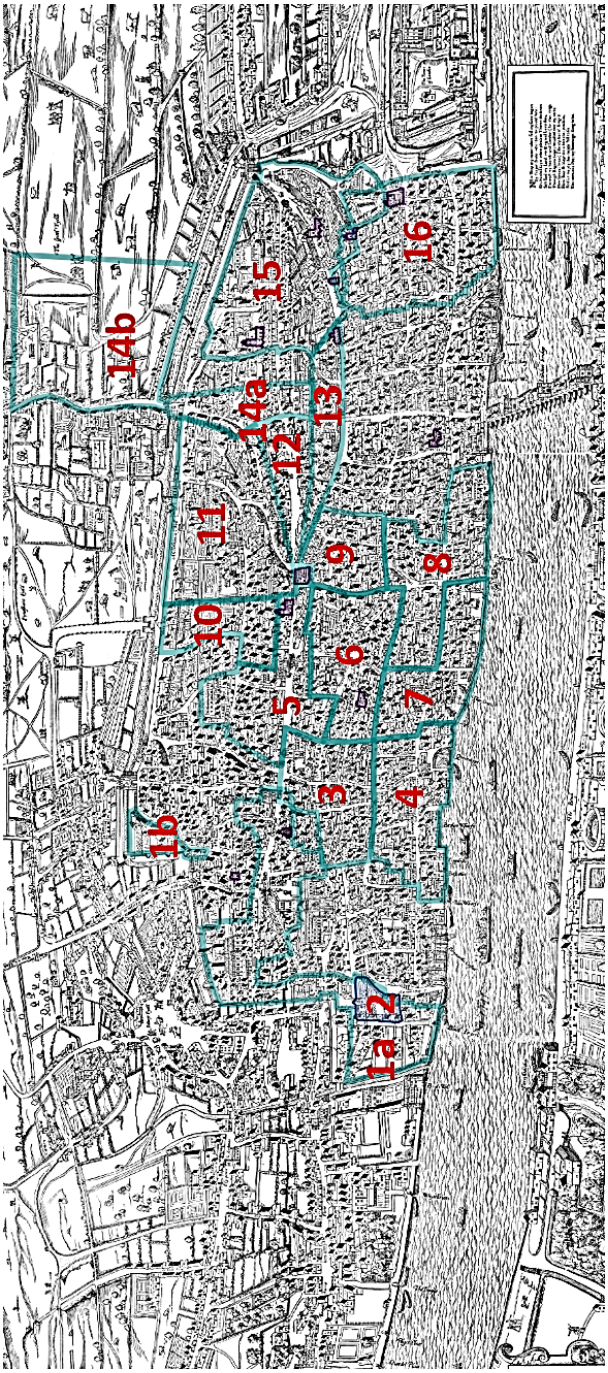
	Cony skynes stage the c	0	0	20			
	Cork made for shoomakers the dozen				0	4	0
D	Damask lether the dosen tawed				0	20	0
	Dornix with wool the peece containing xv [15] yards				0	10	0
F	Flaskets for gun poulder covered with lether the dosen				0	3	4
	Fox skynes the pane	0	6	8	0	10	0
	Fox skinnes the peece				0	0	8
G	Girdles called buf girdles course ungilted the groce				6	13	4
	Girdles called buf girdles gilted the groce				10	0	0
	Girdles of lether the groce				0	10	0
	Girdles of velvet gilted the dosen				3	6	8
	Girdles of velvet ungilt the dozen				0	40	0
	Girdles look more in Cruel and Woollen				0	0	0
	Gloves of Canaria unwrought the groce				0	16	0
	Gloves of Spanish making the groce				**0**	**48**	**0**
	Gloves of Canaria, Millon or Venice unwrought the dosen				0	8	0
	Gloves of Canaria, Millon or Venice wrought with silk or Silver the dosen				0	30	0
	Gloves knit of silk the dozen				0	20	0
	Gloves the grosse	0	13	4			
	Golde skinnes the kip containing 1 skinnes				0	20	0
	Golde skynnes the kyppe	0	13	4			
	Goteskinnes the dosen				0	20	0
	Grayes skinnes called flying gray the peece				0	6	8
	Grayes skinnes the skin				0	8	0
	Gray tawyd the tymber the tymber [sic] that ys to saye xl skynnes	0	6	8			
H	**Hats called Spanish or Portingale felts the dosen**				**0**	**13**	**4**
	Hats called Spanish or Venice the dosen				**0**	**40**	**0**
	Hats of wul or worsted beeing thrommed the dosen				0	13	4
L	**Lether for cousschenes the dossen**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**8**
	Lether called rede bash' fo cosshynes the dossen	**0**	**2**	**0**			

	Lether look Basil lether and skinnes				0	0	0
M	Moule skinnes the dosen				0	0	6
O	Otter the tymber that ys ti saye xl skynnes to the tymber	0	40	0			
	Otter skinnes the peece				0	2	0
	Ounce [lynx] skinnes the peece				0	10	0
P	Peticotes knit of Wul or Cotton the dosen				0	30	0
	Poyntts the grett grosse	0	5	0			
	Poyntts the smalle grosse	0	0	5			
R	Rede hydes containing x hydes to the decker	0	33	4			
	Roan [Rouen] skinnes the dosen				0	30	0
	Russe skynes the dossen	0	0	10			
S	Sables the timber of the best containing xl [40] skinnes				60	0	0
	Sables of the second sorte the timber				30	0	0
	Sables of the wurst the timber				14	6	8
	Shomakyrs heres the boxe	0	6	8			
	Skinnes called Burdeaux skinnes the dosen				0	12	0
	Skinnes called Dansk skinnes the dosen tawed				0	26	8
	Skinnes called Foyne tayles the pane				0	10	0
	Skinnes called squirrels skinnes the timber				0	2	6
	Skinnes for Furres look Armines, badger, Bere, Bever, black Lamb, budge, Calabar, Cats, Duckers, Fitchers, Foyne, Fox, Gray, Jenets, Kidskins, Letwis, liberds, Luzarns, Marterons, Miniver, Minks, Moule, Otter, Ounce, Sables, Shanks, Wesel, and Wulf						
	Skinnes for Lether, look Basil, Buffe for Cushins portingale, Redhides, Roan, Salt, spanish, Spruce and Swan skinnes						
	Sprusse skynnes the doz	0	10	0			
	Spanish skinnes the dozen				**3**	**0**	**0**
	Spruce skinnes for hose the dosen				0	26	8
	Spynyard the lb	**0**	**0**	**16**			
	Standishes covered with lether gilt the peece				0	3	4
	Swan skinnes the skin				0	4	0
T	**Taffata narrow called spanish Taffata the yarde**				**0**	**4**	**0**
	Touchboxes of lether the dosen				0	0	14

V	venice Pursses of lether the dozen				0	12	0
	venice pursses of leather imbrodered or knit the dosen				0	20	0
W	Wall notts the barrelled	0	3	4			
	Wesel skinnes the dosen				0	0	4
	Worsted yarne the dossen lbs	0	9	0			
	Wollcardes that be new the dossen	0	6	8			
	Wolle cardes that be hold	0	3	0			
	Wolves skinnes tawed the skin				0	20	0
	Wolves skins untawed the skin				0	18	8
	Worsted called S. Thomas Worsted narrow or half worsted the peece				0	10	0
	Worsted called Russels worsted or brode worsted the peece				0	20	0
	Worsted yarne the dosen pound				0	16	8
	Wul called Spanish wul the c.				**5**	**0**	**0**
	Wul look Cotton and Estridge				0	0	0
	Wul cardes new the dosen				0	10	0
	Wul cardes olde the dosen				0	6	0
	Wullen Girdles the dosen				0	8	0
Y	Yarne called worsted yarne, Cruel or Mockado ends the dosen pound				0	16	8

APPENDIX C: SPANIARDS RESIDING AND WORKING IN LONDON

Figure 1: Ralph Aga's Map of London, *Civitas Londinum* (1561) showing the areas where Spaniards resided from c.1567-1585. Sources: map generated using https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/index.htm with data accumulated from Table F.



1a-b. Farringdon Within Ward
2. Blackfriars Precinct
3. Bread Street Ward
4. Queenhithe Ward
5. Cheap Ward
6. Cordwainer Street Ward
7. Vintry Ward
8. Dowgate Ward
9. Walbrook Ward
10. Coleman Street Ward
11. Broad Street Ward
12. Cornhill Ward
13. Langbourn Ward
14. Bishopsgate Ward
15. Aldgate Ward
16. Tower Street Ward
(NB: Small purple areas indicate parishes)

Figure 2: Graph showing numbers of Spaniards residing and working in London, c.1567-1585. Source: Data accumulated from Table F.

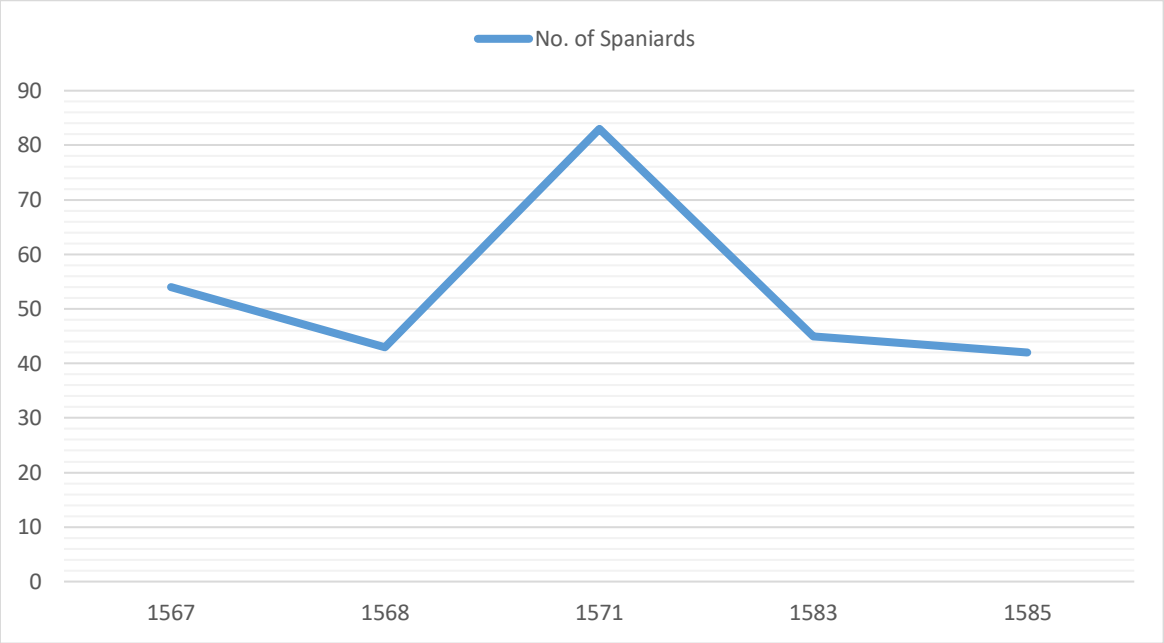


Table F: Spaniards residing and working in London, c.1567-1585 (*merchants, ship captains, and other professions relating to either textile crafts or the Crown are listed in bold*).[9]

Month/ Season, Year	**Name**	**Profession**	**Residence** (names of wards and parishes are given as originally spelt)	**Years spent in England**	**Denizen (D) or not denizen (ND)**	**Total No. of Spaniards** (incl. family units)
Easter, 1567	Lewys de Paiz	not given	Brodestrete Warde	16	D	1
	Jaques Fysher	not given	Androwe and Barthue Within (Bishopsgate Ward)	10	ND	1
	Lucas Fysher	not given	Androwe and Barthue Within	not given	ND	1

[9] R.E.G. Kirk; E. F. Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I, Part I: 1523-1571* (Aberdeen, 1900); R.E.G Kirk; E. F. Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I, Part II: 1571-1597* (Aberdeen, 1902).

			(Bishopsgate Ward)			
	Francis Farnando (and 2 children)	not given	Vintry Warde	12	ND	3
	Fraunces de la Fares	not given	Langborne Warde	5	D	1
	Baptista Sambitons	**merchant**	Langborne Warde	25	D	1
	Celybrande de Lonze	**captain**	Langborne Warde	20	ND	1
	Anthony Guarras	not given	Dowgate Warde	30	ND	1
	Baneum Layr	servant	Dowgate Warde	16	ND	1
	Damien Dalla; his wife, Isabell	servant	Dowgate Warde	10	ND	2
	John Delerande	servant	Dowgate Warde	6	ND	1
	Frauncis Franko	not given	Creplegate Warde	not given	ND	1
	John Symonde de la Montayne	not given	Warde of Farrington Without	12	D	1
	Mr James	not given	Warde of Farrington Without	3 weeks	ND	1
1567	not given	not given	St Ellyne (Bishopsgate Ward)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	St Swethens (Walbroke Ward)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	Wolchurche (Walbroke Ward)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	St James (Vintry Ward)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	Blackfriars (Farringdon Within)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	St Giles (Criplegate Without)	not given	not given	4
	not given	not given	Alhallowes Steyning (Langborne)	not given	not given	3

	not given	not given	St Gabriel Fan-Chruch (Langborne)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	St Olyves (Tower Ward)	not given	not given	8
	not given	not given	Alhallowes Steyning (Tower Ward)	not given	not given	4
	not given	not given	St Dunstons in the East (Tower Ward)	not given	not given	1
	not given	not given	Alhallowes Barking (Tower Ward)	not given	not given	11
					Total for 1567	**54**
1568	Fernando Almarez	**buttonmaker**	St Edmund's Parish	not given	not given	1
	Francis de Farias; his wife, Jocamina; children (number unknown); and servant, Nicholas Duprey	**silkweavers**	St Edmund's Parish	not given	not given	3
	Mr Gasperin	**Queen's servant**	St Edmund's Parish	not given	not given	1
	Jane Esquer; her daughter, Katharine; and her cousins, Mary and Anne	Widow / **shepsters (seamstresses)**	St Edmund's Parish	not given	not given	4
	Balthasar Sanchie; English wife; and servant, J. Lewis	Comfit-maker / servant	Woolchurch Parish	not given	D	2
	not given	not given	Criplegate Ward	not given	not given	6
	not given	not given	St Katharines	not given	not given	2
	not given	not given	City of Westminster	not given	not given	24
					Total for 1567	**43**
May, 1571	Anthony Currance; his wife, Mary; his	Preacher / servants	Creplegate Warde	4	not given	6

	children, John and Susan; and his servants, Daniell de Due and Johan Lawes					
	Anthony Guarras; and his servant, John a Biskyn	not given	Dowgate Warde	32 years in England, 24 years in said ward	not given	2
	Frauncis Spinosa; and his wife	**leather-dresser**	Blackfriars	10 years in England, 8 years in said ward	D	2
	John Baptist Sempetorie	**merchant**	All Hallowes Staininge	20	not given	1
	John Lewis; his wife, Jane	**buttonmakers**	In Grenes Renters and the Wharf	3 years in England, 2 years in said ward	ND	2
	Anthony Lempere; two servants (one Dutch)	**merchant** / servants	Aldgate Ward	4 in England, 1.5 years in said ward	ND	2
	Isaack de; his wife, Jane; and two sons, Jacob and Jacob	not given	Aldgate Ward	28	not given	4
	Adrian de Russen; his wife, Jane; and his children, John, Grace and Judith	not given	Aldgate Ward	6	not given	5
	Lewes de Face	**merchant**	St Andrews Undershafter	20	D	1
	Gasperinge and wife	**a Queen's man**	St Katheryne Colman	30	not given	2
	Sr. John Portinare; his wife, son and daughter	**knight**	St Katheryne Colman	not given	not given	4

	Dennys Roistinham and his wife, Katheryne	**buttonmaker**	St Leonardes Parishe	19 years in England, 5 in said parish	D	2
	Barthelmewe Nonnes	**jeweller**	Tower Warde	4	not given	1
	Mounser Swethingham	**commissioner for the Duke of Alba**	Tower Warde	not given	not given	1
	Peter Martyne	**serves the Spanish Ambassador**	Tower Warde	16	not given	1
	Silvester Peryn	not given	Tower Warde	not given	not given	1
	Mary Mowner	**silkwinder**	Bredestrete Warde	10 years in England, 4 in said ward	D	1
	Barbara Marysall	**silkwinder**	Bredestrete Warde	10 years in England, 4 in said ward	D	1
	Marshall Lucas	servant	Cordwaynerstrete Warde	5	not given	1
Nov., 1571	Frauncys Spinosa	**leatherdresser**	Blackfriars	15	D	1
	Gracyan Deroye and his wife, Margaret	**hemp-dresser**	Creplegate Without	5	not given	2
	Anthony Corraurs	preacher	Creplegate Without	4	not given	1
	Baptist Sempetorye	**merchant**	Alhallowes Staynynges	not given	not given	1
	Lopis Delzera	not given	Alhallowes Staynynges	3	not given	1
	Domingo de Barganto	not given	Alhallowes Staynynges	not given	not given	1
	Damien Diether and his wife	**tailor**	Dowgate	12	not given	2

	Anthonye Ewarras and his servant, John	**merchant** / servant	Dowgate	30	not given	2
	David Shorer	**trader**	Paryshe of St Xp'ofers	1	not given	1
	Lewys de Pays	not given	St Androwes Undershafter	not given	D	1
	Margerye and her children, John, Davye, Angell and Elizabeth	widow	St Katharyne Colmans Paryshe	4	not given	5
	Mercellie Lucas	servant	St Mildredes in the Powltrie (Cheape Warde)	31	ND	1
	Alaunso Arasco	**servant to the Spanish Ambassador**	St Mildredes in the Powltrie (Cheape Warde)	3.5	ND	1
	Arnolde Declarewe; his wife, Collet; and his servant, Anatte Davyserie	**silkweaver /** householder / servant	St Mathewes Parish	9	D / ND	3
	Barbary Dyrvisarie	widow	St Mathewes Parish	9	D	1
	Peter Dentwra	gentleman	St Mathewes Parish	5	not given	1
	Barborie Davisarie	widow	St Mathewes Parish	9	D	1
	Marie Monnar	not given	St Mathewes Parish	9	ND	1
	Arnold Dyldawe	servant / **silkweaver**	St Mathewes Parish	6 weeks	ND	1
	Christian de Riche (alias Derick); his wife, Matha; and two maids, Katherine Derick and Clarken Moyeanson	**buttonmaker /** householder / **silkware**	St Johns the Walbroke	9	D	4
	Hans Wotters	**merchant**	St Martines the Orrgar	8	not given	1

	Baltheser Sans	comfit-maker	St Marie Wolchurche Parishe	24	D	1
	Godfrey Reason	servant	Quenehithe Warde	16 days	not given	1
	Hawnse Hulst	brewer	Quenehithe Warde	12	D	1
	Fraunces Friese; his wife, Jacomyn and their 5 children	**silkweaver**	St Thomas the Apostle Parish	10	not given	7
	Fraunces Farnando	**hatmaker**	St James Parishe	7	not given	1
	Peter Martyns	**serves the Spanish Ambassador**	Alhallowes Barkinge Parish	17	not given	1
	Bathilmewe Nonyas	not given	St Olaves Parishe	6	not given	1
	Mr Lewes Loppus	not given	St Olaves Parishe	6	not given	1
					Total for 1571	**83**
1582	Anthonie Vawse	**attendant to the Spanish Ambassador**	Warde of Quenehithe	not given	not given	1
	Jacob Powel	**serves the Spanish Ambassador / physician / surgeon**	Warde of Quenehithe	not given	not given	1
					Total for 1582	**2**
1583	Ciprian Valerio	preacher	Colmanstrete Warde	not given	not given	1
	Lewys de Pace	**merchant**	Tower Warde	not given	not given	1
	Allonse de Bozart	**merchant**	Tower Warde	not given	not given	1
	John Swygo	**merchant**	Tower Warde	not given	not given	1
April, 1583	Alexander Williamson	**cobbler**	not given	not given	D	1
	Lodwicke Thewes	musician	not given	not given	D	1
	John Mikenion	joiner	not given	not given	D	1
	Jesper Frederick	goldsmith	not given	not given	D	1
	Gyles Vangaland	clockmaker	not given	not given	D	1
	John Jeames	**silktwister**	not given	not given	D	1
	John Lamberts	butcher	not given	not given	D	1
	John Duernan	**tailor**	not given	not given	D	1
	John Cornelis	goldsmith	not given	not given	D	1

	Martin Deuisser	**pinmaker**	not given	not given	D	1
	Frauncis Derickes	not given	not given	not given	D	1
	Garret van den Boe	goldsmith	not given	not given	D	1
	Anthony Hemerick	**silktwister**	not given	not given	D	1
	Mychaell Arte	**cordener**	not given	not given	D	1
	Harmon Dewman	**tailor**	not given	not given	D	1
	Arnold Murrey	butcher	not given	not given	D	1
	Christian Boeye	**tailor**	not given	not given	D	1
	John Pookes	**tailor**	not given	not given	D	1
1583	John Lewes and his wife	comfit-maker	Blackfriars	5	D	2
	John Clenek	gun-maker	Blackfriars	14	D	1
	John Spinosa and his wife	**band-maker**	Blackfriars	10	not given	2
	George Buzes and his wife, Flypott	**silkweaver**	Halliwell	7	ND	2
	John Maye and his wife, Jane	**silkweaver**	Halliwell	6	ND	2
	Peter Browne and his wife, Simond	**tailor**	Halliwell	12	ND	2
	Zachary du Roy and his wife, Elizabeth	**shoemaker**	Halliwell	not given	ND	2
	Renold Burges	widow	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
	Jane Pulloyes	widow	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
	Moyses Burnery	not given	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
	Elizabeth Durand	widow	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
	Nicholas Payre	**silkweaver /** servant	Halliwell	11	not given	1
	Noah Durand	**silkweaver /** servant	Halliwell	6	not given	1
	Symon Alane	**silkweaver /** servant	Halliwell	6	not given	1
	Frauncis Franke	**silkweaver /** servant	Halliwell	2	not given	1
	Magdalen Drewe	maidservant	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
	Magdalen le Cate	maidservant	Halliwell	not given	not given	1
					Total for 1583	**45**

1585	Alexander Williamson and his wife, Mary	cobbler	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	2
	Lodwick Thewes; his wife, Hellyn; and their children, Lodwick and Katheryn	musician	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	4
	John Mykenyon and his wife, Elizabeth	pykemaker	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	2
	Jesper Frederyk; his wife, Marie; and their servants, Susan Beolyn and Sara Bowltrys	goldsmith / servants	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	4
	Gyles Vangarde; his wife, Hellykyn; his father, Yonster; and their servant Katheryn Zelande	clockmaker / servant	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	4
	John James; his wife, Ellyn; and their daughter, Ellyn	**silktwister**	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	3
	John Lamberte and his wife, Janikyn	butcher	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	2
	John Cornelis	goldsmith	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	1
	Francis Derickson; his wife, Phyllis and their daughter, Mary	**tailor**	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	3
	Garrett vanden Boys and his wife, Anna	goldsmith	St Martins le Graund	not given	not given	2
	Anthonye Emryck and his wife, Mary	**silktwister**	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	2
	Arnolde Murrye and his wife, Susan	butcher	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	2
	Michaell Arte and his wife, Janakyn	**cordwainer**	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	2
	John Pookes and his wife, Mary	not given	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	2

	Richarde Jacobeson	**cordwainer**	St Martins le Graund	not given	D	1
	Nicholas Kitchen and his wife, Jane	goldsmith	St Martins le Graund	10	not given	2
	Peter James; his wife, Eva; and their daughter Anna	**merchant**	St Martins le Graund	2	not given	3
	William Johnson	**pursemaker**	St Martins le Graund	30	not given	1
					Total for 1585	**42**

APPENDIX D: CHALONER'S INVENTORIES

Thomas Chaloner (1521-65), statesman and ambassador to Elizabeth I and Philip II, travelled to Spain for diplomatic duties in 1561. He spent a small fortune on Spanish clothing during his stay (sources: TNA SP 70/21, f.157r; TNA SP 70/36, f.37r; TNA SP 70/60, f.44r), as well as other provisions including foodstuffs, soap and medicine, which are documented in Bell, G. M, 'Sir Thomas Chaloner's Diplomatic Expenses in Spain', *Historical Research*, 53:129 (1980), pp.118-124. A note on the transcriptions and translations: where legible, prices have been given for individual entries into Chaloner's inventories; however, there exists a disparity between the Arabic and alphabetic numerals listed.

'Chaloner's Purchases in Spain' (1560)[10]

[f.157r.]	**[f.157r.]**
Gastos de vestidos e otros gastos salen lo siguiente desde que entre a […] al embajador de ynglaterra demas gastados q sus cabid el camino de Sevilla a Toledo	Clothing expenditures and miscellaneous expenditures of the ambassador of England on his travels from Seville to Toledo are as follows.
De un jubon de raso	One satin jerkin
De unos muslos de tafetan	Some taffeta breeches
De guantes real y media	A pair of 'royal' (red?), half-length gloves
El tasq par' mi cabeca	A [?] for my head
Una vayna para mi espada terciopelo y […] vayna	A velvet scabbard for my sword and […] another scabbard
De un puña daraso	A satin cuff

[10] TNA SP 7021, f.157r.

Ytem de unos muslos de lienzo de camino 8 reales	Item, some linen breeches for outdoors, 8 reales
[…]	[…]
Ytem un jubon de gamuca	Item, a suede jerkin
Ytem guantes	Item, a pair of gloves
Ytem de mi ropa dela guanta y se […] con botones de […] manos 43 reales	Item, a suit with gloves and buttons, 43 reales
Ytem una escobilla	Item, a brush
Ytem una espada	Item, a sword
Ytem unas guantes	Item, a pair of gloves
Ytem del jubon de telilla	Item, a canvas jerkin
Ytem unas botas	Item, a pair of boots
Ytem unos patufflos	Item, a pair of slippers
Ytem unas botas de tagta con unas calcas para ellas	Item, a pair of boots with matching breeches
[…] dos pares de calcas blancas y negras	[…] two pairs of black-and-white breeches
Ytem 50 reales de un capo	Item, 50 reales for a hat
[…]	[…]
Ytem de una camisa	Item, a shirt
[…] de vestidos	[…] of clothes

De unas medias calcas	A pair of half-length breeches
De urtar mi cabello	A head cloth
De una gorra	A hat
De cintillos	Some hatbands
De cabeca de pano	A forehead-cloth
De botas	A pair of boots

'Chaloner's Hosier's Bill' (1562)[11]

[f.37r.]		**[f.37r.]**	
De […] del senor enbajador de una terzia derraso negro de Valencia para aderejar las calzas derraso de su senor la siete rreales y medio	7r.	The […] of the English ambassador, a third of black Valencian satin to decorate the satin breeches of his lordship, seven and a half reales	7 reales
Mas delos […] se hechura cuatro […] seis reales	6r.	Plus […] for tailoring, four […] six reales	6 reales
Mas de su senor dos reales del tom […] de la capa	2r.	Plus, two reales […] for a cape	2 reales
Mas de tres barras de tafetan […] para aforro de los ocho […] de los calzos como [?] rreales labora	27r.	Plus, three varas of taffeta […] for the lining […] of the hose, [?] reales worth of manual labour	27 reales
Mas de tres barras derraso decorada de lo […] treze rreales labora	39r.	Plus, three varas of decorated satin of […] thirteen reales worth of manual labour	39 reales

[11] TNA SP 7036, f.37r.

Mas de cincos onzos deseda para los pespuntes ala [?] rreales la onza montavente rreales	20r.	Plus, five ounces of silk for stitching, worth [?] reales per ounce, twenty reales	20 reales
Mas de los aforros depano parellos seis rreales	6r.	Plus, cloth lining for them, six reales	6 reales
Mas de los aforros delienzo tres rreales	3r.	Plus, linen linings, three reales	3 reales
[…] Mas de los bolletas parael raso seis reales	6r.	Plus, cards for the satin, six reales	6 reales
Mas de las echara delas calzas cinco […]	55r.	Plus, a pair of breeches, 55 reales	55 reales
	171r.		171r.
Hace aber bra señor desta cuenta cincuenta y cuatro reales	54r.	Sir has already made a down payment of 54 reales	54 reales
Vistamos a pagar	117r.	Payment owed	117 reales

'Chaloner's Expenses' (1563)[12]

[f.44r]		**[f.44r]**	
como embajador tengo […] sessenta reales		As ambassador I have […] 70 reales	
sea […] un coleto de terciopelo de […] con la seda y quarter reales	iiij	[…] One velvet and silk jerkin, four reales	4 reales
Mas [seyzo?] sea foro una capa en felpa y de eso un pafemmo de hechura seys reales	vj	Plus, [?] one cloak lined with wadding (quilting) and	6 reales

[12] TNA SP 7060, f.44r.

		perfumed, tailored to fit, six reales	
Mas dos reales dela seda pa la capa	ij	Plus, two reales worth of silk for the cloak	2 reales
Mas [seyso?] una ropa de tafetan dela fuentes con unos sayos […] y con unas alemanes […]	Kkij	Plus, [?] a taffeta suit with a matching doublet and cloak	
Mas compre de [?] par esta ropa costo seys reales todos	vj	Plus, I bought [?] for this suit, it cost 6 reales altogether	6 reales
Mas compre de seda ocho onza costo tres reales y medio	iij	Plus, I bought eight ounces of silk, it cost three and a half reales	3.5 reales
Mas compre una quarta de terciopelo de falto costo syete reales y medio	vj	Plus, I bought a quarter of velvet, it cost seven and a half reales	7.5 reales
Mas compre tres desedas de alemanes pa este ropa costen seyte y quarter reales	LLiiij	Plus, I bought three German silks for this suit, they cost seven and a quarter reales	7 ¼ reales
Mas paje dos reales por el tafetan dela ropa pagada el […]	ij	Plus, I paid two reales for the taffeta of the suit […]	2 reales
Mas seyzo [se hizo] un jubon de […] ocho reales	viij	Plus, I have had made a jerkin of […] eight reales	8 reales
Mas compre todo el aforo y seda y botones costen todos nueve reales	iL	Plus, I bought lining and silk and buttons, altogether they cost nine reales	9 reales
Mas se aforo una ropa en felpa de hechura, doce reales	viij	Plus, the tailor lined a suit with wadding (quilting), twelve reales	12 reales

Mas compre una […] de terciopelo pa este ropa y la seda de […] coste todo ocho reales y medio	viij	Plus, I bought […] of velvet for this suit and silk […], altogether it cost eight and a half reales	8.5 reales
Mas seyzo [se hizo] un jubon de raso para todo la [hechura] doce reales	10ij	Plus, I have had made a satin jerkin altogether tailored for twelve reales	12 reales
Mas compre todo el aforo pa este jubon y botones y sean costo todo nueve reales	iL	Plus, I bought all of the lining for this jerkin and buttons, and altogether they cost nine reales	9 reales
Mas se hechura una capa […] de tafetan […]		Plus, I had a tailor make a cloak […] of taffeta […]	
Mas de seda y una quarta de tafetan coste […] 10 reales […]		Plus, some silk and a quarter of taffeta, costing […] 10 reales […]	10 reales

APPENDIX E: A SPANIARD'S INVENTORY

The transcription and translation below are of an inventory (TNA SP 70/115, f.111r-v) pertaining to an unnamed Spaniard during his time spent in London in 1570. The inventory includes a wide range of Spanish clothing and accessories, made from expensive textiles, which suggests that this individual was a man of considerable means. Given the lack of pricing accorded to these items, it is likely this manuscript was intended to document the possessions he had brought with him from Spain, rather than detail those he had purchased on the English market.

'Inventory of the wardrobe of a Spanish Gentleman' (1570)[13]

[f.111r]	**[f.111r]**
Memori de los bestidos dela señor la	Memoranda of the clothes of a Spanish gentleman
Primera[te] calcones y jubon y medias calcas y ligaganzas coloradas	Firstly, a pair of hose, a jerkin, a pair of half breeches and coloured garters
Otro bestido […]	Another suit […]
Dos capotes uno de la masco y otro derraso	Two golden cloaks, one fly's wing black and the other of satin
Unas calcas con medias deseda negras	A pair of half-length black silk breeches
Una rropilla jubon de terciopelo	One loose velvet overcoat and a velvet jerkin
Tres jubones los dos derraso y otro para […]	Three jerkins, two satin and the other […]
Un coleto decordoban	One Cordoban leather jerkin
Un sayo de […] forrado en tafetan	One doublet of […] lined with taffeta

[13] TNA SP 70/115, f.111r-v.

Una gorra y calcas de lo mismo	One matching hat and breeches
Tres talabartes y suspetrinas deterciopelo Las dos negras y una borde	Three velvet swordbelts and girdles, two black and one embroidered
una gorra detercio con su trencilla […]	A velvet cap with braid […]
Dos caporucas [?] una derraso pardo otra de terciopelo de piñuela	Two small cloaks of grey satin, another of velvet with a pineapple motif
Unas botas de Cordoba	One pair of Cordoban leather boots
Un capote morado con sus borlas deoro y seda	One brown hooded cloak with silken and golden tassels (or pompoms)
Una capa de bayeta y una rropilla	One cape of woollen cloth and a ropilla
Yunas calcas de terciopelo y canes [?] lo mismo	One pair of matching velvet breeches and [?]
dos pares demedias [calcas] de seda negras	Two pairs of black silk half breeches
Un sombrero de fieltro	One felt hat
Tres pares de calcetas del tercio las unas cortas unas medias [calcas] depano para de camino	Three pairs of three-quarter length hose, some short Another pair of short cloth breeches for walking
[f.111v.]	**[f.111v.]**
Mas ocho […] con sus paños los siete	Eight more […] with seven cloths
Mas seis camisas La una con cuello y punos	Six more shirts, one with a collar and cuffs
Tres escobillas la un decerda La otra de cabeca	Three brushes, one for the sows, the other for head-hair
Mas una fin de tercio pelo pequeño	One smaller one finished with velvet

APPENDIX F: SPANISH GARMENTS, TEXTILES AND GIFTS IN THE WARDROBES OF MARY TUDOR AND ELIZABETH I

The tables below summarise the Spanish garments and textile accessories found in Mary and Elizabeth's wardrobes as documented in their wardrobe warrants, account books, and gift rolls. The data includes only items that are specifically delineated as 'Spanish' within the manuscripts.[14] It is worth acknowledging that the garments and accessories listed in the manuscript sources are inventoried by the original scribe using an inconsistent measurement system (e.g. lace is recorded in both pounds and ounces, as well as gross and dozens).

Measurements:	
lb (pound)	16 ounces
oz (ounce)	16 drams
dr (drams)	27.34 grains
gross	144 (12 dozen)
doz (dozen)	12
lb t (troy pound)	12 troy ounces
oz t (troy ounce)	20 troy pennyweights
dwt; d; penny (troy pennyweight)	24 troy grains ~ 1.56 grams
di (dickers)	hides, 10 skins; gloves, 10 pairs
piece	1
yard	36 inches
nail	sixteenth of a yard ~ 2 ½ inches

[14] TNA E 101/427/11: 'Warrants subsidiary to account of the great wardrobe', ff.34r, 38r; TNA LC 5/31: 'Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneaous. Great Wardrobe, 1557-1558', ff.54r-62r; 94r-99r, 106r-111r; MS Egerton 2806, ff.2v; 16v; 17r; 20v; 29r; 39v; 44r; 45v; 52r; 54r; 64r; 72v; 77v; 95r; 106v; 111r; 113r; 115v; 119r-v; 120v; 121v; 125v-126r; 131r; 132r-v; 134v-135r; 139v; 140v; 144r; 147r-148v; 154v; 159r-160v; 166v; 168r-v; 171r-172r; 173v; 176v; 186r; 187r-188r; 190v; 192v; 120v; 209r-v; 211v; 214v; 220r; 223v; 228r; 229r; TNA LC 5/36: 'A Book of Particular Warrants to the Magesties Great Wardrobe from Michelmas 1585 to Michelmas 1593', ff.11r; 29r; 51v; 63r; 74r; 121r; 123r; 136r; J. Arnold, Janet, *Lost from Her Majesties back': items of clothing and jewels lost or given away by Queen Elizabeth I between 1561 and 1585, entered in one of the day books kept for the records of the Wardrobe of Robes* (London, 1980); J. A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford, 2013)

Table G: Quantitative summary of Spanish garments and textile accessories in Mary and Elizabeth's wardrobes

Article Type	Mary #	Elizabeth #
Cloak	0	1
Coif	0	2
Cordoban/ Spanish skins	0	17
Forehead Cloth	0	1
Gloves, pairs of	0	9
Gown	2	6
Guard	4	5
Granado silk	48 pounds 8 ¼ ounces	16 pounds 10 ounces (see stitching silk)
Handkerchief	0	33
Hose, pairs of	44	0
Jerkin	0	6
Lace	48 pounds 4 ¼ ounces	2 pounds 14 ¾ ounces; 4 gross 6 dozen
Leather shoes/ pantobles/ slippers, pairs of	0	869 pairs
Loose gown	0 (Mary buys several loose gowns, but they are not listed specifically as 'Spanish')	1
Male	0	5
Partlet	0	1
Perfumed powder	0	1 pound
Petticoat	0	2
Points	0	7,884
Riband/ribbon	14 yards	13 ½ pieces, 28 gross, 35 dozenm 31 yards
Ruffs, set of	0	1
Silk fringe		3 ounces
Smock	0	1
Spanish silk	See Granado silk	130 pounds 9 ¾ ounces 10 ¾ drams
Sleeves	0	8

Stitching silk	0	49 pounds 10 ounces
Taffeta	0	6 breadths
Tooth cloth	0	6
Welts	3 ('multiple welts' are listed in 2 other entries)	0

Table H: Spanish garments and textile accessories in Mary's wardrobe

Date / Year	Article type	Article description as in source	Quantity
27 April & 16 Oct 1554	Black Spanish lace	*Item for twentie and Sixe ounces quarter of fune blak spanishe lase…*	26 ¼ ounces of lace
	Spanish lace	*Eight ounces of spanishe lace*	8 ounces of lace
	Black twist of Granado (Spanish) silk	*And eleven ounces thre artrs of fyne blak twist of granado silke*	11 ¾ ounces of silk
30 March – 6 April 1557	Black velvet Spanish gown bordered with buckeram, upper sleeves lined with friese, with a white fustian stay and black satin bags	*Item for making of a Spanishe gowne of blacke velluett bordered with buckeram, the upper sleves lyned with fryse, and a stey of white fustian and bagges of blacke Satten all of our greate Guarderobe*	1 gown
	Black velvet Spanish guards decorated with twisted russet lace	*…for making of a douche Gowne of russett Satten with two Spanyshe gardes of blacke velluett laide on with russett lase & twiste the skerte lyned with fustian and the sleves pulled oute with russett Sarstnett, and the upper sleves lyned with fryse and edged aboute with frenge...*	2 guards
	Furs for a black velvet Spanish gown	*And also for furrynge of a Spanyshe Gowne of black velvett with twente and three Sable skynnes of our store receved of the saide Arthur Sturton and for foure tymber of Calaber to the same gowne of our greate Guarderobe*	23 sable skins 1 gown
	Spanish lace	*Item to Mary Wilkinson our Silkewoman…fyve ounces quarter and a haulfe of Spanyshe lace…*	5 ¼ ounces of lace

	Granado (Spanish) silk; various colours	*Item delyvered to the saide Jones and by him employed upon all our apparel aforewriten oone pownde quarter of granado Silke of sunderye Collours*	1 ¼ pounds of Granado silk
	Spanish silk hose	*Item to Myles Huggarde our hoser for fourtene peires of hoose stitched with Spanyshe Silke all of oure greate Guarderobe*	14 pairs of hose
30 Sept 1557	Black velvet Spanish guards: one laid with russet purled lace	*Item for makinge of a Loose gowne of Russett Satten garded with two Spanyshe gardes of Blacke veluett and layed one with Russett purled lase and lyned with Taffata the sleves lyned with frese and pulled out with Taffata Sarstinett the coller and stayes lined with fustian and paste Buckeram all our greate wardrobe*	2 guards
	Spanish lace	*Item to Mary Wilkinson oure Silkwoman…Thre ounces d quarter of Spanyshe Lase*	3 ¼ ounces of lace
	Granado (Spanish) silk; various colours	*Item delivered to the saide Edwarde Jones and by him employed upon our apparel above saide twenty & two ounces quarter of granado Silke of collors and Blacke…*	22 ¼ ounces of Granado silk
	Spanish silk hose	*Item to Myles Huggarde our hoser for fyvtene peires of hoose stiched with Spanyshe Silke all of our greate wardrobe*	15 pairs of hose
27 March 1558	Spanish lace	*Item to Mary Wilkinson oure Silkewoman…foure ounces of Spaynshe lase*	4 ounces of lace
	Spanish silk hose	*Item: to Myles Huggarde our hosyer for fyvetene payres of hoose styched with Spanyshe silke all of oure greate warderobe*	15 pairs of hose
	Granado (Spanish) silk to be used on clothing; various colours	*Item Delivered to the saide Edward Jones our Taylor and by him employed upon our apparel aforesaide Twenty and one ounces of Granada Silke of sundery colours fourteen ounces and a halfe of blacke busshell worke lace*	21 ounces of Granado silk
	Spanish lace	*Item to the saide Mary Wilkinson…one ounce of Spanyshe lase all of our greate warderobe*	1 ounce of lace
31 Oct 1558	Spanish welts	*Item for making a Lowse gowne of Russett Taffata garded with three Spanyshe weltes and purled…*	3 welts
	Spanish welts	*Item for makinge of a Loose gowne for hir of Blacke taffata Garded with Spanyshe weltes and Stitched Laied aboute with purled Lace and*	Multiple welts

		ffrendge and Lyned with ffustian the fore sleves Lyned	
	Spanish welts	*Item for making of a nyghte gowne of black Damaske with Spannyshe welts and Stytched Laied on with purled Lace the Sleves pulled oute with Sarstnett the Upper slees Lyned with Cotton and a Staie of white ffustian all of oure greate warderobe*	Multiple welts
	Spanish lace	*Item to Mary Wilkinson oure Silkwoman…iiij ounces and a half of Spanyshe Lace*	4 ½ ounces of lace
	Spanish riband	*Item delyvered to John Grene our Coffermaker…fourtene yardes of Spanyshe Riband*	14 yards of riband

Table I: Spanish garments and textile accessories in Elizabeth's wardrobe

Date / Year	Article type	Article description as in source	Quantity
1568	Spanish sleeves	*Item for alteringe and making larger of a spanyshe sleve for a Gowne of blak vellat the sleve lyned with white taphata the vellat and taphata of our great Guarderobe*	1 pair of sleeves
1569	Spanish leather shoes	*Item to the said Garrett Johnson for two peire of spanyshe lether Showes for the said Monarch of our greate Guarderobe*	1 pair of shoes
	Spanish sleeves linyed with lawn	*Item for making of a Gowne with a Traine of blak wrought vellat with a greate spanyshe sleve lyned with lawne two severall tymes with a garde of blak vellat the Gowne lyned with blak sarceonett and ventes of fustian the pleytes lyned with buckeram and in the coller with canvas all of our greate Guarderobe.*	1 pair of sleeves
	Spanish sleeves lined with black sarcenet	*Item for new upperbodying of a frenche Gowne of blak wrought vellat with spanyshe slevis lyned with blak sarceonett and the garding performed with vellat of our great Guarderobe*	1 pair of sleeves
1571	Plain black velvet Spanish gown lined with murray sarcenet,	*Item for making of a spanyshe Gowne of plaine blak vellat with a greate pendaunte sleve the gowne lyned with murrey sarceonett & borderid the slevis*	1 gown

	with pendant (Spanish) sleeves bordered with murray sarcenet and lined with canvas	*lyned with murrey Satten the coller lyned with canvas the playtes lyned with buckeram and a rolle of cotton all of our great guarderobe*	
1572	White satin Spanish gown lined with black sarcenet, with full bodies lined with buckeram, hanging (Spanish) sleeves, a gold and silver-embroidered gard, and cotton ruffs	*Item for making of a Spanyshe Gowne of white Satten with whole bodies and hangying slevis with an enbrauderid garde of golde and silver the gowne lyned with blak sarceonett the bodies with canvas & buckeram and cotton in the ruffs all of our great Guarderobe*	1 gown
	Spanish sleeves edged with thick white satin and lined with white taphata	*Item for newe making of a straight bodied Gowne of blak vellat with a spanyshe sleve which had a garde cut upon chaungeable taphata and new cut out and the gowne cut allover & lyned with white taphata sarceonett and newe upper bodied the bodies & slevis edged with white Satten very thicke lyned with white taphata and the bodies with canvas with a Rolle of white cotton the ruffes drawen oute with blewe and white sarceonett and lyned with cotton and buckeram of our greate Guarderobe*	1 pair of Spanish sleeves
	Spanish guard lined with sackcloth and ash-coloured sarcenet	*Item for upperbodying of a french Gowne of blak Satten enbrauderid with a spanyshe garde lyned with fyne sackecloth and ashe colorid sarceonett of our greate guarderobe*	1 guard
1573	Black velvet gown with Spanish sleeves (lost pair of aglets)	*Item loste from her Majesties backe the xxth of September Anno xvo [1573] one payre of iij square aglettes from a Gowne of blacke vellvet with a spanyshe sleeve*	1 pair of Spanish sleeves
	Spanish guard	*Item for alteringe and new making of a frenche Gowne of blak satten with a spanishe garde and cuttinge the same gowne allover newe lyned with oringe color & white sarceonett with new rolls coverid with fustian in the slevis of our great guarderobe*	1 guard

	Spanish guard lined with sackcloth and ash-coloured sarcenet	*Item for upperbodying of a french Gowne of blak Satten enbrauderid with a spanyshe garde lyned with fyne sackcloth and ashe colorid sarceonett of our greate Guarderobe*	1 guard
1574	Ash-coloured sarcenet Spanish guard	*Item for upperbodying of a frenche Gowne of blak Satten with a spanyshe garde cutt upon ashe color sarceonett: for alteringe the slevis and newe gardinge the bodies with blak vellat lyned with canvas and ashe color taphata of our greate Guarderobe*	1 guard
	Spanish guard lined with ash-coloured taphata	*Item for lyninge of a frenche Gowne of blak Satten with a spanishe garde lyned with ashe color taffata of our greate Guarderobe*	1 guard
1575	Black velvet Spanish gown lined with murray sarcenet and canvas, with pendant (Spanish) sleeves, and a gold and silver-embroidered guard with velvet cutwork lined with murray satin	*Item for alteringe and new upperbodyinge of a spanyshe Gowne of blak vellat with pendaunte slevis the garde wrought with venice golde & silver the vellat cut oute and layed undernethe with murrey satten the bodies lyned with murrey sarceonett and canvas in the coller of our greate Guarderobe*	1 gown
1576	Tawny satin Spanish gown lined with sarcenet and edged with white satin, with pendant (Spanish) sleeves lined with white satin, skirted bodies edged with white satin, and a tawny satin gard	*Item for making of a spanishe Gowne of tawnye satten with a verye great pendaunte sleve with doble Jaggs in the syse and small skyrtes to the bodies the gowne lyned with sarceonett & edgid with white satten the slevis lyned with white satten cut and raste allover & lyned underneath with white sarceonett the small skyrtes edgid with white satten the gown ptelye garded with a garde taken from a Gowne of tawnye satten of our store Received of Blaunche Pary one of the gentilwomen of our prevye Chamb xviii yerds di of satten towards the making of the same gowne exchanged for so much murrey satten of our store the satten to pforme the same gowne of our gr guar*	1 gown
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours, stitched with silk, lined with taphata	*Item to William Winter for xii peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of sundry colors stithed with silke and one peire of Pantobles of oringe color taphata enbr with silke thre peire of*	Leather shoes and pantobles

		theise Showes lyned with taphata all of our great guarderobe	
1577	Tawny satin Spanish gown lined with black sarcenet and edged with black taphata, with a train, and Spanish sleeves edged with black taphata	*Item for making of a Spanishe Gowne of tawnye satten with a traine and great spanish slevis the gowne lyned with blak sarceonett, the gowne and slevis edgid with blak taphata the slevis lyned with like taphata and a rolle in the pleites made of bayes and buckeram all of our greate Guarderobe*	1 gown 1 pair of sleeves
	Spanish leather Male lined with cotton	*Item to Thomas Grene for one Male of spanishe lether lyned with cotton with braces laces and guilt buckell…*	1 leather Male
	Spanish leather shoes	*Item for Rowlande Winter for xiiii pere of spanishe lether shows of our greate guarderobe*	1 pair of leather shoes
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles lined with taphata and velvet; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson for making of sixe peire of spanishe lether Showes the lether of our store layed with lase of venice golde and silver: Twentie peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of sundry colors ix peire being lyned with taphata: & for translating of xx peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles with vellat and taphata occupied in translating of them of our great guarderobe*	6 pairs of leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles	*Item to the said Rowlande Winter for translatinge of vi peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of our great guarderobe*	6 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Granado (Spanish) sewing and stitching (embroidery) silk; various colours Spanish silk ribbon; various colours	*Item to Alice Mountague our Silkewoman fir xxvi lb x oz of spanishe granado silke sowing and stitching of sundrye colors…viii gross of Poyntes made of spanishe silke rebande and venice rebande of colors…fower grosse viii doz di of fine heare lasinge rebande and two pennye brode rebande of spanishe silke of sundrye colors*	26 pounds 10 ounces of Granado (Spanish) sewing and stitching (embroidery) silk, 8 gross points with Spanish silk ribbon, two penny of broad Spanish silk ribbon

	Spanish silk riband	*Item one pece of brode cullen Rebande of spanish silke*	1 piece of silk ribbon
1578	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours with taphata and silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for Twentie peire of Spanish lether Showes and Pantobles stiched with silke of sundrye colors thre peire layed with silver lase one peire lyned with taphata: and for translating of twelve peire of Showes & pantobles of spanishe lether of sundrye colors with silver lase and taphata occupied in the translating of them all of our greate Guarderobe*	32 pairs of leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather Male	*Item to Thomas Grene for making of a Male of spanishe lether lyned with cotten with braces and laces and gilte buckells…*	1 Male
	Spanish leather shoes; various colours	*Item to Rowlande Winter for Tenne peire of spanishe lether Showes welted allover with colorid lether cut and stiched with silke of sundrye colors of our greate Guarderobe*	10 pairs of leather shoes
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours with silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xxix peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles one peire enbr another peiren layed with silver lase, thre peire lyned with taphata, and threste stiched with silke of sundry colors and for translating of xxiiii peire of Showes & pantobles all of our greate Guarderobe*	19 pairs of leather shoes and pantobles
	Tawny-coloured, perfumed Spanish skins for making a perfumed leather jerkin	*Item to William Cooke for two tawyne spanishe lether perfumed skynnes for perfumynge one lether Jerkin…*	2 perfumed Spanish skins, 1 Spanish leather jerkin
	Spanish leather shoes, pantobles and slippers; various colours with silver lace, and scarlet satin and taphata	*Item to Rowlande Winter for Tenne peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles and Slippers of sundrye colors welted cut and stiched parte layed with silver lase lyned with scarlett satten and taphata: And for thre peire of taphata Slippers enbr with lase of silver lyned with satten & scarlett of our great guarderobe*	10 pairs of Spanish leather shoes, pantobles and slippers
	Spanish leather skins and 'Cordoban' skins	*Item to John Wynneyarde for perfumynge of sixe Gownes: for keeping of fower spanishe lether Skynnes: Thre cordevaunte skynnes & a half…*	4 Spanish leather skins, 3 ½ 'Cordoban' skins
1579	Tawny satin Spanish sleeves	*Item for setting in fower panes of tawnye satten into a peire of slevis of the spanishe facion of our store*	1 pair of sleeves

	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles lined with satin and taphata	*Xvii peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles parte styched & lyned with satten & taphata: for translating of thre peire of vellat Pantobles with vellat employed on them: & for translating of xv peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles all of our great warderobe*	32 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours, lined with scarlet satin	*Item to Rowlande Winter for xxviii peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles of sundry colors parte lyned with satten & scarlett & styched with silke of sundrye colors of our greate warderobe*	26 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles lined with scarlet satin and taphata	*Item to Rowlande Witer for fyveteene peire of spanishe lether Showis & Pantobles welted & stitched with silke lyned with satten scarlett or taphata of our greate warderobe*	15 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather Male lined with cotton	*Item to Thomas Grene Cofermaker for making of a Male of spanishe lether lyned with cotton with braces laces and gilte buckells…*	1 Male of Spanish leather
	Spanish stitching (embroidery) thread; various colours	*Item to Alice Mountague our Silkewoman for Twentye thre pounds of silke bolonye and spanishe stichinge and sowing of sundrye colors…*	23 pounds of thread
1580	Spanish leather Male lined with cotton	*Item to Thomas Grene for one Male of spanishe lether lyned with cotton with bracs lacs and gilte buckells*	1 Male of Spanish leather
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles	*Item to Rowlande Winter for Tenne peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of our greate warderobe*	10 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather and velvet shoes and pantobles lined with taphata, satin and silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for thirtye and one peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles styched with silke lyned with taphata & satten, two peire being lyned over with silver lase and lyned in the soles with vellat: one peire of vellat Pantobles enbr lyned with taphata and in the soles with vellat: for translating of xii peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles: and for translating of fower peire of vellat pantobles enbr with vellat occupied on them of our great warderobe*	31 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 1 pair of velvet pantobles, 12 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 4 pairs of velvet pantobles

	Spanish gloves, Spanish silk lace; various colours	*…Two peire of spanishe Gloves….viii oz iii quarter of spanishe silke lase of colors*	2 pairs of Spanish gloves, 8 ¾ ounces of Spanish silk lace
1581	Spanish silk, Spanish points	*…spanishe silke of sundrye colors: xxii grosse iii doz of Poyntes of spanishe and venice reben of colors…*	Spanish silk, 22 gross 3 dozen Spanish points with Venetian ribbon
	Spanish leather jerkins, Spanish leather pantobles and shoes lined with yellow satin and adorned with silver lace	*Item to Rowlande Winter for alteringe of five spanish lether Jerkins: for one peire of spanishe lether Pantobles layed with silver lase lyned with yellowe satten & one peire of spanishe lether Showes layed wt silver lase of our gr guar*	5 Spanish leather jerkins, 1 pair of Spanish leather pantobles, 1 pair of Spanish leather shoes
	Spanish leather shoes, pantobles and slippers lined with satin satin and taphata, and adorned with gold and silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for eight peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of sundrye colors layed with golde & silver lase lyned with satten & in the soles with vellat: for two peire of slippers of tufte taphata lyned with scarlett: for thirtye & one peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles of sundrye colors stiched with silke lyned in the soles with taphata: for translating of thre peire of vellat Pantobles enbr: for translating of two peire of tufte taphata Slippers: for translating of xviii peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles all of our greate Guarderobe*	8 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 2 pairs of taffeta slippers, 31 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 3 pairs of velvet pantobles, 2 pairs of taffeta slippers, 18 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours adorned with gold lace and part-embroidered	*Item to Rowlande Winter for nyne peire of spanishe lether Showes: and one peire of Pantobles of sundry colors parte layed with golde lase and parte enbr all of our greate guarderobe*	9 pairs of Spanish leather shoes, 1 pair of pantobles
	Spanish silk; various colours	*Item to Roger Mountague for xxxiiilb x oz iii quarter di of bolonye spanishe & naples silke of sundrye colors…*	34 pounds, 10 ounces, and ¾ dickers of Bolognese,

			Spanish and Napolese silk
	Spanish silk, Spanish sik ribbon; various colours	*Item to Alice Mountague our Sil kewoman for fouretye pounds sixteene ouncs of naples spanishe & bolonye silke of colors sowing & stichinge…two pounds one oz iii quarters of lase made of bolonye spanishe & naples silke of colors…fower peces & a half of brode cullen Rebande for gerdelinge of spanishe silke: thre pecs of key bande Reben of spanishe silke…one grosse xi doz iii yerds of two pennye brode & heareslasinge reben of spanishe silke of sundrye colors…*	40 pounds 16 ounces of Bolognese, Spanish and Napolese silk, 2 pounds 1 ¾ ounces of Bolognese, Spanish and Napolese silk lace, 4 ½ pieces of broad riband, 3 pieces of Spanish silk ribbon, 1 gross 11 doz 3 yards of Spanish silk ribbon
1582	Spanish leather and velvet shoes and pantobles lined with taphata and adorned with gold and silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for Thirtye and thre payer of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles two payer layed with lase of venice golde & silver lyned with taphata & some with scarlett: for translating of two peire of vellat pantobles enbr with vellat to mende them & for translating of xvi peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles all of our greate Guarderobe*	33 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 2 pairs of velvet pantobles, 16 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
1583	Spanish silk lace, Spanish riband	*Item for one ounce of satten silke spanyshe lase: Two ouncs quarter of spanyshe silke…six yerdes of spanyshe two peny brode reban*	1 ounce of Spanish lace, 2 ¼ ounces of Spanish silk, 6 yards of Spanish ribbon
	Spanish satin and silk lace, Black Spanish silk	*Item for thre ouncs quarter of Lase made of spanyshe and satten silke: One ounce Demy of blake spanishe silke:…iii ounce demy of blake spanishe…*	3 ¼ ounces of Spanish lace, 1 ½ ounce of Spanish silk, 3 ½ ounces of Spanish…

	Spanish leather and velvet shoes and pantobles lined with taphata and soled with satin	*Item to Garrett Johnson for Thyrtye & fower peyer of spanyshe lether Showes and Pantobles styched with silke lyned with taphata and in the soles with satten: for translating of Thyrtye peyer of Spanishe lether shows and Pantables and for translating of fower peyer of Pantobles of vellat enbrauderid, all of our great Guarderob*	34 pairs pf Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 30 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 4 pairs of pantobles
	Spanish skins, Cordoba skins, Spanish perfume	*Item to John Whynneyarde, for keeping and trymmyng of fower skynnes of spanishe Lether: thre cordaunt skynnes and a half: And for one pounde of pfumed Powder with muske syvett and all other Drugges of our gr guarderobe*	4 Spanish leather skins, 3 ½ Cordoba skins, 1 pound of perfumed powder
	Spanish leather and velvet shoes and pantobles lined with taphata and soled with satin	*Item to Garrett Johnson our Showemaker, Thyrtye and five peyer of spanyshe lether Showes and Pantobles styched with silke lyned with taphata and in the soles with satten: For translating of Twentye peyer of spanyshe lether Showes and Pantobles and for translating of thre peyer of Pantobles of vellat embrauderid, of our great Guarderobe*	35 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 20 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 3 pairs of velvet pantobles
1585	Spanish gloves	*Item for thre peire of spanishe Gloves…*	3 pairs of Spanish gloves
	Spanish leather Male lined with cotton	*Item to Thomas Grene for one Male of spanishe lether lyned with cotton with braces laces & guilt buckells…*	1 Male of Spanish leather
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours and adorned with gold and silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for Twentie & fower peire of Showes & Pantobles of spanishe lether of sundrie colors stiched with silke one payer layed on with golde & silver lase and for translating of seventeene peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles all of our greate guarderobe*	24 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 17 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
1586	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson our shoemaker for lv payre of spanishe lether shoes & pantobles of sondry colours, one paire laid on with siluer lace…For translating of xxiiii paire of shoes and pantobles of spanishe Lether…*	55 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 24 pairs of Spanish

			leather shoes and pantobles
	Repeat entry	*Item to Garrett Johnson our Shewemaker for fyvetye five peire of spanishe lether Showes & Pantobles of sundrie colors. one payer layed on with silver lase. for translating of xxiiii peire of Showes & Pantobles of spanishe lether…*	n/a
1587	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson for Thirtye peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of sundrie colors….and for translating of sixteene peire of spanishe lether Showes and Pantobles of our greate guarderobe*	30 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 16 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Repeat entry	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xxx paire of spanysh lether Shoes and Pantobles of sondrie colours…and for translatinge of Sixtene paire of Spanyshe Lether Shoes and Pantobles of oure greate guarderobe*	n/a
	Spanish leather and velvet shoes and pantobles; various colours adorned with silver lace, lined with cloth of silver and carnation taphata	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xxxi peire of Showes and Pantobles of spanish lether of sundrie colors, one peire layed with silver lase for two peire of vellat Pantobles thone peire lyned with cloth of silver thother with carnacion taffata, for translating of thre peire of vellat Pantobles with vellat to performe them & for translating of xiiii peire of spanishe lether shows & Pantobles all of our greate Guarderobe*	31 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 2 pairs of velvet pantobles, 3 pairs of velvet pantobles, 14 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours adorned with silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xxxi paire of shoes and pantobles of spanishe Lether of sondrie colours one paire laid with siluer Lace…And for translatinge of xiii paire of spanyshe lether shoos and pantobles all of our greate guarderobe*	31 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 13 pairs of Spanish leather and pantobles
1588	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours and adorned with silver lace	*Item to Garret Johnson for xxiii peire of Showes and Pantobles of spanishe lether of sundrie colors. one peire of spanishe lether Pantobles layed on with silver lase…and for translatinge of viii peire of*	23 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 1 pair

		Showes & Pantobles of spanish lether all of our greate guarderobe	of Spanish leather pantobles, 8 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours and adorned with silver lace	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xxiii paire of shoes and pantobles of spanyshe lether of sondrie colours: one pair of Spanish lether pantobles laied on with siluer lace…and for translating of vii paire of shoes and pantobles of spanishe lether all of our great warderobe*	23 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 1 pair of Spanish leather pantobles, 7 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson our Shomaker for xxviii paire of spanyshe Lether shoes and pantobles of sondry colours, and for translatinge of vii paire of shoes and Pantobles all of our great warderobe*	28 pairs of Spanish leather and pantobles, 7 pairs of shoes and pantobles
	Spanish silk, Spanish silk fringe, Spanish silk riband, Spanish silk broad ribbon, Spanish lace, Spanish points; various colours	*Item to Roger Mountague for xxiii lb xiii oz of silke of sundrye colors spanishe bolonye and naples sowing and stichinge…iii oz of fringe of spanishe silke of colors…one pece di of key bande reben of spanishe silke…iii grosse of broade reben of spanishe silke: iii doz di of iiid broade reben of spanishe silke…Two grosse vi do of spanishe lase of sundrie colors…xviii grosse vi doz of spanishe and venice reben Poyntes*	23 pounds, 13 ounces of Bolognese, Spanish and Napolese silk, 3 ounces of Spanish silk fringe, 1 piece of Spanish silk riband, 3 gross of Spanish silk broad ribbon, 3 dozen and 10 of £3 of Spanish silk broad ribbon, 2 gross 6 dozen of Spanish lace, 18 gross 6 dozen Spanish and

			Venetian ribbon points
1589	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xvii paire of spanish lether shoes and pantobles of sondry colours…*	17 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish silk, Spanish sleeve silk, Spanish silk riband, Spanish silk broad ribbon, Spanish lace, Spanish points; various colours	*Xxvii lb iii ounces quarter of silke black and colours bolony spanishe and naples sowing and stichinge…One pounde iii ounces quarter of carnacion ingrayne Silke and spanyshe sleave sylke…iii peces xii yards of key band riben of Spanishe Silke of sondrie colors…Two grosse ix doz x yards of two peny brode riben of spanish Silke…Two grosse of spanishe lace of sondry colours…six grosse of poynts of spanishe and venice riven carnacion ingrayne and other colours…*	27 pounds 3 ¼ ounces of Bolognese, Spanish and Napolese silk, 1 pound 3 ¼ ounces of Spanish sleeve silk, 3 pieces 12 yards of Spanish silk riband, 2 gross 9 dozen 10 yards of Spanish silk broad ribbon, 2 gross of Spanish lace, 6 gross of Spanish points
1590	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles; various colours	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xvii paire of spanish lether shoes and pantobles of sondry colours…*	17 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
	Spanish leather shoes and pantobles	*Item to Garrett Johnson for xix paire of shoes and pantobles of spanyshe Lether….and for Translatinge of viii paire of spanishe Lether shoes and Pantobles all of our greate warderobe*	19 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles, 8 pairs of Spanish leather shoes and pantobles
1600	Orange Spanish taffeta	*Item sixe whole breadthes of orange colour Spanish Taffata flourished with sylver sometimes made into a gowne and nowe remains in peeces*	6 breadths of taffeta

	Silver and carnation-striped Spanish taffeta petticoat	*Item one peticoate of spanishe Taffata Chaungeable striped with silver tufted with Carnacion and bluncket sylke*	1 petticoat
	Coloured Spanish taffeta petticoat	*Item one peticoate of spanishe Taffata of colours with twoe gardes of white Satten embroidered with flowers and leaves of golde silver and silke*	1 petticoat
	Gold and silver-patterned Spanish taffeta loose gown	*Item one loose gowne of spanishe taffata wrought with golde and silver with leaves and flowers of silke of sondrie Colours and a paire of hanging sleeves*	1 gown
	Orange Spanish taffeta	*Item one frenche gowne of orange colour Satten [or spanishe Taffata flourished with silver…*	?
	Dove or Turtle-coloured Spanish taffeta	*Item one rounde gowne of Dove or Turtle colour spanish taffata…*	?

Table J: Spanish garments and textile accessories gifted to Elizabeth by her courtiers

Date / Year	Article type	Article description as in source	Quantity
1568	Coloured silk Spanish handkerchiefs	*By the Lady Cicell a Cawle of venice golde kyntt with Rooses of Pearle. And fyue Spanish handkerches wrought with silke of sundry colors…Delyuerid to the said Mrs Abingdon*	5 handkerchiefs
	Linen partlet and coif decorated with silk Spanishwork (a type of embroidery)	*By Mrs Katheryn Howarde wief a partelett and a Coyphe of of fine lawne wrought with borders of silke spanyshe worke*	1 partlet 1 coif
1570	Sable skins for a black velvet gown with Spanish sleeves	*Item Delyverid to Adam Blande the xxijth of Decembr Ano xiijtio R Re Elizabeth [1570] Lv sable skynnes to be employed upon the furring of a Gowne of blak vellat with a spanyshe sleve…*	55 skins, 1 pair of Spanish sleeves
1578	Cambric smock decorated around the collar and sleeves with Spanishwork in the form of roses and	*By Fowlke Grevell a Smock of Camerick wrough abowte the Coller and Sleves of Spanysshe worke of Roses and Letteres / and anight coyf with aforehedclothe of the same worke*	1 smock 1 night coif 1 forehead cloth

	lettering. A matching night coif and forehead cloth		
	Cambric handkerchiefs decorated with black Spanishwork and edged with a broad golden and silver bone-lace	*By Mrs Digby vj faire handkerchers of Camerike of blake spanishe worke edged with a brode bone lace of golde & siluer*	6 handkerchiefs
	Linen ruffs decorated with Spanishwork	*By Mrs Twiste Six Towthclothes wrought with blake silke and edged with golde and a Sute off Ruffes of lawne wroughte with spanisshe worke*	1 set of ruffs
	Handkerchiefs decorated with Spanishwork	*By Mrs Huggaynes iiij handkercheres faire wrought with spanyshe worke*	4 handkerchiefs
	Handkerchiefs made from various coloured silks and decorated with Spanishwork	*Ratlif two Swete bagges being large of Serceonet and vj handkercheues wrought with silke of sundry collors spanishe worke*	6 handkerchiefs
	Cambric handkerchiefs decorated with Spanishwork and small silver and golden bone-lace	*Marbery Six handkercheues of Camrike spanishworke with a smale bonelace of siluer and golde*	6 handkerchiefs
	Holland toothclothes decorated with Spanishwork	*Smithsone allis Tailor a Coif of Lawne florisshed with blacke silke and edged with a bonelace of venice golde and vj totheclothes of holland wrought with spanishworke*	6 toothclothes
	Cambric handkerchiefs decorated with black silk Spanishwork edged with golden and silver Venetian bone-lace	*Haynes Six handkercheues of of [sic] Camrike wrought with blacke silke spanishe worke edged with a bonelace of venice gold and siluer*	6 handkerchiefs
1603	Spanish taphata loose gown, decorated with golden and silver pyramid motifs and variously-coloured pieces of silk	*By the Earle of Cumberlande, One Loose Gowne of Spanishe Taffata, flourished with golde and silver like Piramides and peces of Silke of sondrye Colors*	1 loose gown

	Spanish taphata cloak decorated with Venetian gold and silver pyramid motifs and pansies of coloured silk	*By Mr Francis Wolley One Cloke of Spanish Taffata Florished all over with Venice golde and Silver like Piramides and Panses of Cullored silke*	1 cloak
	Spanish gloves	*By Mr More Aldermann foure paire of plaine spanishe gloves & one Jewell of golde like a peramides garnished with Diamondes & three Pearle*	4 pairs of gloves